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MAN

in INDIA.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological
Science with special Reference
to India.

31373

Edited by

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

572.05

VOL. IX.

M. I.

1929.

RANCHI.

INDIA.

PRINTED BY M. C. EKKA, AT THE G. E. L. MISSION PRESS.

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITOR AT THE "MAN IN INDIA" OFFICE,
CHURCH ROAD, RANCHI.

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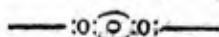
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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. IX. } JAN.—MARCH, 1929. { No. 1.

I. CULTURAL AFFINITIES OF THE ORAONS WITH THE HILL TRIBES OF ASSAM.

By J. H. HUTTON, M. A., D. SC., C. I. E., I. C. S.

The reflections that follow have arisen from the perusal of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's recent book "*Orāon Religion and Customs*" with which he has supplemented his former admirable account of the *Orāons* and added another item to the debt which is owed him by all cultural anthropologists. The present book, I need hardly say, falls in no way short of the high standard the Rai Bahadur has set himself in his previous works.

The *Orāons* are a Dravidian-speaking tribe, but, living in close contact with *Mūṇḍās*, they have much in common with them in culture. These points of contact have been pointed out by the author, but it is exceedingly interesting to observe that they have a great deal in common with Assam tribes which speak neither a Dravidian nor a *Mūṇḍārī* tongue, as well as with tribes of Assam and Burma which have *Mūṇḍārī* but no Dravidian affinities of speech. Thus the story of

the scorching of the earth by iron-smelting Asūrs (p. 25) strongly suggests a Chang Naga tale; the marriage of tanks (p. 91) is a common practice in Assam, and the methods of the Orāon sorcerer who sucks out *nāsan* differ not a whit from those of the *thumomi* of the Sema Nagas. The Chāṇḍi stones of the Orāon are the *Oha* of the Lhotas, and like the latter are capable of growth and apparently of producing young (p. 60). The Orāon spring or summer hunts (p. 228), on which depends the prosperity of a village are identical in practice and purpose with the hunt of the Angami Nagas at the *Sekrengi genna* at which numbers of birds and small animals are killed, and on the success of which depends the prosperity of the whole village throughout the year. The idea which underlies this hunt is no doubt analogous to the idea underlying human sacrifice, and here again it is significant that the Orāon refrains from going abroad at certain seasons (p. 51) for fear of becoming a victim, reminding one irresistibly of the Wa of Burma (a tribe speaking one of the Austro-Asiatic languages like the Mūṇḍa) with their head-hunting season, open while the young grain is sprouting in the ground. The burial rites of the Orāons are very reminiscent of Assam in several respects. The disposal of the bones in earthen jars, their collection in family burial places, their consignment to water, all find parallels in Assam tribes—Naga, Khasi or Kachari, but most significant of all is the fact that persons dying after the sprouting of the

paddy seedlings are given temporary burial and are exhumed for secondary disposal (burning) after the harvest. Similar practices obtain in very many Assam and Burma hill tribes, and can be shown to indicate unequivocally an intimate association between the souls of the dead and the vital principle of the crop, an association which is specifically claimed by the Karens, who regard the soul as pupating like a caterpillar on the death of the body, this pupa subsequently bursting and allowing the vital essence thereby released to enter the growing crops which are in turn eaten of men, thus continuing the cycle of life. It is true that the Oraons burn their dead, whereas most of the hill tribes of Assam and Burma bury them, or expose them on platforms, but a certain number of them burn. Thus Surgeon McCræ writing in 1799 of the "Kookies or Lungtas" (*Asiatic Researches*, VII, vi), describes the corpse as being kept on a platform till the spring festival, when the bodies of the year's dead are burned together. This association of the dead with the crop also appears in Assam in the erection of monoliths. The purpose of these monoliths in the Naga Hills is clearly to provide a phallic abiding place for the soul, which is thereby, no doubt, assisted in its work of natural reproduction. So too, among the Oraons, our author notes (p. 184) that memorial stones are put up for notable men in the compound of the deceased or in some field belonging to him, and that at the time of bone-drowning, another rite associating the deceased with the fertilizing powers of nature

is performed and one or two bits of bone are set aside for this memorial stone. These fragments probably convey to the stone part of the deceased's vital essence and so add increase to his household or to the crops of his field.

Taboos on agricultural operations are simply the Naga *penna* or *pini*, a system that stretches right across Indonesia and Oceania to New Zealand and is actually linked up in language through the Malayan word *puni*. But when we read of witches' sabbaths, black cats and vampires, our thoughts fly westward rather than eastward. Vampires, it is true, are much the same to the Oraon and to the Thado Kuki or the Manipuri, whose *kaoshi* or *hingchabi* as the case may be feeds invisibly on the vital parts of his victim. Nevertheless, the vampires of the Balkans do much the same a little more concretely, while the witch who is found in bed with a broken leg when someone has thrown a stone at her black cat has a most Britannical odour, as also the Oraon witches' sabbaths with their naked dances and their pledges of secrecy and resolves to suffer (p. 258).

Modern movements in Oraon religion, to which Mr. Roy devotes his last chapter, clearly owe much to Hinduism, but we very strongly suspect that with some of the older features, which the author ascribes to contact with that religion, the borrowing is less on the part of the Oraon than on that of the Hindu. Thus he seems to regard the taboo on the pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*) as of

Hindu origin. Doubtless the ceremonial of the *Jitia Pipar* is Hindu enough, but it is to be noticed that it is mixed up with the worship of ancestor spirits. Now it is a characteristic of the fig tree to be associated with fertility and re-incarnation over an area of which a fraction only is covered by Hinduism, and the distribution of this association may be roughly stated as from Africa to Indo-China and from southern Italy to New Guinea. It is far older than Hinduism and is probably African in origin. This question of the borrowings of the Oraons in their religion has been raised by Dr. Guha in his review of this book (in the *Modern Review*, January 1929), but before it is possible to decide exactly what has been borrowed from the "Aryan"-speaking race it is necessary to know what elements in their own religion were borrowed or absorbed from the previous inhabitants of the Indian peninsula. It is not really likely that the racial difference between the Oraon and the Mūṇḍā (for instance) will prove to be very pronounced. When a number of cultures impinge on one another one tribe will retain one element which another rejects, while retaining that which is rejected elsewhere. We do not attach very great importance to the fact that one tribe speaks a Dravidian and the next a Mūṇḍāri language. In Assam the Khasis retain such a language isolated in a welter of Tibeto-Burmese tongues, but in racial composition they seem to differ little from their neighbours, and a matrilineal system

such as they still retain appears to have been much more widely spread aforetime. The phallic and stone cult which is shared by so many tribes of Chōtā Nagpur and Assam obviously existed at a very early date in southern Asia, and was perhaps the earliest systematised religion that existed there. Certainly its traces appear in the practice of all subsequent faiths, not excluding Buddhism and Islam. What we wish to know first of all is whether the Dravidian or the Mūṇḍārī tongue is the earliest language to be used in the peninsula. Both have left somewhat similar sporadic traces in northern India and must have been far more widely spread at some pre-historic date. At the present day both are often associated with certain identical culture elements. Which of the two is responsible for the phallic stone culture of India and south-east Asia and whence was it brought? The question may never be answered, but meanwhile we are the richer for the Rai Bahadur's admirable study of Orāṇ religion, which at least gives us a starting point for such enquiries and which is probably of much more practical importance than the answer. *

—:O:—

* *Orāṇ Religion and Customs.* By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, with an Introduction by Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., I. C. S. (*Retd.*) and numerous illustrations. (*Man in India Office, Ranchi, India*). PP. XV + 418. Price Rs. 12/.

II. SOUTH INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

By

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The Catholic Church in Mysore.—The close connection of the greater part of Mysore with Malabar and the Western Coast affords grounds for supposing that Christian influences may at a very early period have been extended to this country. But the first systematic attempt to convert Mysore to Christianity was made by the Dominicans about 1325 A. D. Their leader was *Fra Jourdain Catalanus de Severac* who on his return to Europe, was consecrated, in 1328, Bishop of Quilon at Avignon by Pope John XXII. After his consecration he came back to India where he was put to death by the Moham-medans at Thana near Bombay. The converts made by the Dominicans, in the territories which later on went to form the Mysore State, numbered at least 10,000, but nothing is known as to what became of them. There is, it is true, a statement that in 1445 a Christian was Dewan of Vijayanagar. He may have been a descendent of those converts.

Through the Bijapur conquest of the North and East of Mysore and the conversion to Christianity by the Portuguese of many in the Konkan, Christian influence and preaching found their way to Mysore. There is a tradition that St. Francis Xavier, the zealous disciple of St. Igna-

tius of Loyola, who came out to India in 1542, traversed Mysore on his way to the South, but his attempts at conversion among the Canarese people proved fruitless.

Coming down to a later period we know the intimate relations which existed between the Bijapur State and the Portuguese Settlement at Goa, and so it is from the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in 1510 that we may date the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern India.

The Franciscans found their way to Mysore from Goa about 1587 A. D. We have no definite information on the result of their preaching, but when the Jesuits appeared on the scene in the beginning of the following century they found Catholics in the Mysore Territory : a special mention is made of a flourishing congregation at Seringapatam.

It was the Jesuits who founded the Canarese Mission. They came from Satiangalam, where they had a large number of Christians, through the wild tracts of jungle on the borders of Cauvery and established congregations, the descendants of whom are still to be found in a few villages in the south east. On one spot, at Basavapatna, is pointed out a ruined chapel marked by four large stones, on which are inscriptions dated 1704 authenticating the gift of the land to the "Sanyasis

¹ *Du Brahmanisme et de ses rapports avec le Judaïsme et le Christianisme*, by Mgr. Laouenan, Pondicherry: 1 p. t. 11 p. 402-403.

of Rome". Father Cinnami made Seringapatam the head quarters of the Jesuit Canarese Mission. The number of Christians in Seringapatam itself was greatly increased when Hyder Ali brought thither nine thousand Catholics from Mangalore. Some of these Catholics were enrolled in the army and put in charge of one of the forts of the city, others were employed in manufacturing arms and in looking after the horses. At Paldhally near Seringapatam another Christian congregation was formed but we do not know at what date. There is a tomb stone in the church bearing the name of one Father Michael and the date 1781. Gadanpalli had its first Christian converts in 1760 and the first Church was built there in 1768. It contains the tomb of one Father Rajendra with the date 1776. When Hyder Ali conquered Nagar in 1763 Konkani came to that place where they built a chapel of which nothing remains. It is said that of the two bells which were in the Church the larger one is in a Hindu Temple at the foot of the Ghats and the other one in another temple near Nagar itself. In the Tumkur District Sira had a Catholic Church in 1770. ²

In the east, a Telugu Mission was established in 1702 by two French Jesuits, named Boucher

² On the strength of an inscription purporting to have the words "Jesu Naderu" and the date 1400 engraved at the foot of a Cross it has been asserted that this was the most ancient known Catholic Station in the Province but on further investigations it has been proved that the stone is an ordinary boundary stone with a Cross but without date.

and Mauduit, who came from Thakkolum about eight miles from Arkonam and who built chapels at Bangalore, Devanhalli, Chik-Balapur, Hoskote, Anekal, Kolar and other places. Abbe Dubois from authentic records computes the number of Christians in Mysore in 1750 at about 35,000 but then the limits of Mysore were different from what they are now. They did not include the region North-East of Bangalore nor the Kingdom of Bednore, but, on the other hand, Coimbatore was a part of it, and probably the bulk of those Catholics belonged to the Coimbatore District. Yet the Telugu Mission may have probably made up for it, so that we can accept that total as being approximately the number of Christians in the middle of 18th century in what now forms the Mysore State.

In 1775 there were thirteen Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in the Canarese Mission and about the same number of French Missionaries in the Telugu Mission.

The progress of the Missions received a severe check from the suppression of the Jesuits in 1759 in Portugal and in 1773 all over Europe, which stopped the supply of Missionaries and from the fanatical persecution of Tippu, who was determined, if possible, to extirpate Christianity from his dominions. By his orders almost all the churches and chapels were razed to the ground, with two remarkable exceptions : One a small chapel at Gramma near Hassan, which was preserved by a Muhammadan Officer, and the other, that in

the Fort of Seringapatam, which was protected by the Native Christian troops under their Commander Surappa.

For a few years Indian Priests sent from Goa were in charge of the few Christians who remained. In 1777, the Holy See entrusted the care of the Carnatic Mission, with Head-Quarters at Pondicherry, to the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris, and Mysore became a part of that Mission. On the fall of Tippu a member of that society, the famous Abbe Dubois, was sent to Seringapatam where he was well received by Colonel Wellesley. He remained, assisted by four Goanese priests, in charge of all the Christians in Mysore. It has been said that this remarkable man had escaped from one of the fusillades of the French Revolution and sought refuge in India, but this is incorrect. Abbe Dubois left Paris on the 19th of January 1792, one year before the massacres of the French Revolution began. On entering on mission work he resolved to follow the example illustriously set by de Nobili and Beéschi, of adopting the Indian costume and accommodating himself to the customs and modes of life of the country. "During the long period", he states, "that I remained amongst the Indians I made it my constant rule to live as they did, conforming exactly in all things to their manners, to their style of living and clothing, and even to most of their prejudices. In this way I became quite familiar with the various tribes that compose the Indian Nation, and acquired the confidence of those whose aid

was most necessary for the purpose of my work". The influence he thus acquired is testified to by Major Wilks, who says:—"Of the respect which his irreproachable conduct inspires, it may be sufficient to state that, when travelling, on his approach to a village, the house of a Brahman is uniformly cleared for his reception, without interference, and generally without communication to the Officers of Government, as a spontaneous mark of deference and respect".

He was the founder of the Church in Mysore, and of the Christian agricultural community of Settihally near Hassan, and laboured in Mysore for twenty-two years. He wrote a well-known work on "The Customs, Institutions and Ceremonies of the People of India", the manuscript of which was purchased by the British Government. He is also said to have introduced vaccination—into the Province. He left India in 1823, the Government paying his passage and giving him a pension. On his return to France he became the Superior of the Foreign Missions in Paris, and was universally respected in 1848.

Mysore remained a part of the Carnatic Mission till 1844 when it was created into a separate Vicarate Apostolic including Coorg and Wynaad. The Hosur Taluk and Collegal with Head Quarters at Bangalore was governed by Vicars Apostolic assisted by European Priests and all members of the Society of the Foreign Missions and Indian Clergy.

In 1887 the Hierarchy was proclaimed; in India, and the countries above mentioned were

created into a Bishopric, under the title of the Diocese of Mysore, the head-quarters remaining at Bangalore as before.

There are in Bangalore a Cathedral for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and five Churches for Indians. The out-Stations of the Diocese are divided into sixteen districts, of which eleven are in Mysore country, the latter under the ministrations of between twenty and thirty European Priests appointed by the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris and several Indian Priests.

There are in the Mysore Diocese 95 schools both for girls and boys with 6,260 pupils. The most important Institution for boys is St. Joseph's College in Bangalore, which is divided into the European and Indian Sections and teachers up to the Intermediate. The chief educational Institution for girls is the Sacred Heart College, also in Bangalore, and teaching up to the same standard.

There are at present one Bishop styled "Bishop of Mysore" with his head-quarters at Bangalore, assisted by 50 European priests, 2 Anglo Indian Priests and 12 Indian Priests in the whole Diocese.

The Religious Communities of men are the brothers of the Immaculate Conception, and the brothers of St. Gabriel both engaged in educational work in Bangalore.

The Religious Communities of women are :—

1. The Nuns of the Good Shepherd with head-quarters in the Convent in Bangalore, and branches in St. Martha's Hospital and in Mysore.
2. The Magdalenes under the direction of the Nuns of the Good Shepherd.

3. The Sisters of St. Joseph's of Tarbes at Cleveland Town, Bangalore, with branches at the Bowring Hospital, Champion Reefs, Mysore Hospital and Mercara.

4. The Little Sisters of the Poor-Home for the aged, Bangalore.

5. The Little Catechists of Mary in Bangalore City.

6. There are also Indian Sisters attached to the Convents of the Good Shepherd and of St. Joseph and a separate Order at Settihally near Hassan.

Agricultural Farms with villages populated chiefly by famine orphans have been established at Siluvepura, Nelamangala Taluk, and Mariapura, Kankanahally Taluk. Over 1,500 orphans, both boys and girls, are supported by the Mission. The total Catholic population of the Mysore Diocese in 1915 was 52,000 of whom 2 per cent were Europeans and 3 per cent Anglo Indians, the remainder being Indians.

The R. C. Diocese of Mysore can boast of splendid buildings more especially in Bangalore.

The Indian Roman Catholics are largely found in Bangalore, Mysore, Kolar Gold Fields and other localities; and their habitations are similar to those of the Hindus, the well-to-do families occupying decent houses, and the poorer ones corresponding to those of the lower castes.

Population :—The Roman Catholics form one-seventeenths of the Christian population, and among them the natives or the Indian Christians form

90 per cent. They numbered in 1921, 52000, and this number must have considerably increased since then. The Indian element is far larger among the Roman Catholics than in any other sect. "It is because that Roman Catholicism has been long in the field. It is also due to the fact that the Roman Catholic ideal of self-denial has a fascination for the Indian of any caste, that its worship bears a less strange look to the festival-loving and idol-worshipping classes of the population, and that conversion to Roman Catholicism involves the least amount of disturbance in the life of the convert both as regards himself and in relation to the environment".³

Marriage Prohibition. Marriage is generally endogamous, i. e. the Catholics marry among themselves. There is no intermarriage between the Catholics and the Protestants. The former avoid all conjugal relations among relatives and even cousins up to the fourth degree are prohibited from intermarriage. When cousins of the 2nd, 3rd and fourth degrees, wish to be married, the Pope's dispensation is necessary for all such alliances. Family and social status of the bride and bridegroom are invariably considered before the proposal of marriage. No intermarriage is allowed between descendants of a high caste convert and those of a low caste one. Marriage between Sponcers is also prohibited. The marriage of a Christian with his deceased wife's sister or the wife of a deceased uncle is entirely disallowed.

³ M. C. R., 1921, p. 35.

If a virgin who has taken the veil commits an act of unchastity or in order to hide her sin calls the partner of her guilt, husband, penance of many years shall be imposed upon her. A virgin who has not taken the veil, but has resolved to remain in virginity, and had nevertheless intercourse with a man, has a long penance imposed upon her. In the above cases they are readmitted to the community only after 10 years penance. Virgins dedicated to God cannot marry. If such a Virgin marries, she can be admitted to penance only on her giving up conjugal relationship with her husband.

Customs Relating to Mixed Marriages. A mixed marriage is a marriage between a Catholic and one who, though baptised, does not profess catholic faith. A matrimonial alliance of this kind cannot take place without a dispensation from the ordinary priest, and this cannot be given without sufficient reason and subject to the following conditions :

1. That all the children that may be born of the marriage shall be baptised and brought up in the Roman Catholic faith.

2. That the Roman Catholic party shall have full liberty for the practice of Roman Catholic religion.

3. That the Roman Catholic party shall try to persuade the other by the example of a good life, and endeavour to convert the other to the Roman Catholic faith.

4. That no religious ceremony shall take place elsewhere than in the Roman Catholic Church.

5. That a written promise to observe the above conditions shall be given by the Non-Romanist party before marriage.

Marriage where one of the parties is a Roman Catholic, and the other a Protestant, is not only illicit, but also invalid except when performed in the presence of Roman Catholic priest and before proper witnesses.

Marriage,—Moral and Canonical aspect.—Marriage is a contract, and is, by its very nature, above human law. It was instituted by God, is subjected to the Divine Law, and cannot for that reason be rescinded. It is natural in purpose, but divine in origin. It is sacred and is intended primarily by the Author of Life to perpetuate his creation, and to beget children of God. Its secondary ends are mutual society and help, and lawful remedy for concupiscence. It is monogamic and indissoluble; death alone dissolves the union, when consummated. The Church, therefore, laid down the conditions requisite for the validity of the matrimonial consent on the part of those who marry, and has legislated on their respective rights and duties. Marriages ratified but not consummated by conjugal intercourse, are sometimes dissolved by the Roman pontiff in virtue of his supreme authority, and are sometimes dissolved by entrance

into the religious life and by actual professions of solemn vows.

Matrimonial consent.—Those who marry do so by signifying their consent to be man and wife. Consent is the very essence of marriage, and it is in consequence of their deliberate consent that a man and woman become husband and wife. (1) The act of being married consists in the mutual avowal of consent by the parties, and the giving and accepting of each other. "Thus the wife hath no power of her own body but her husband, and in like manner the husband also hath not power of his own body but the wife". (N. T. i *Corinthians*, vii, 4), It is not sufficient to give the consent internally only, it must be ratified by some outward sign. Although matrimony was raised to the dignity of a sacrament by Christ, it did not lose the nature of a contract; hence, like other contracts, it is perfected by the consent of both parties. It must also be signified in such a manner as to make the consent of both the parties clear and unmistakable to the priest and witnesses. (2) The consent must be free and deliberate; violence or coercion by fear in a degree so great as to deprive either party of his or her freedom to dissent would invalidate the consent given. (3) The party or parties, giving consent to the act of marriage, might be in error as to the person or quality of the person whom they are actually marrying. An error is an impediment based on natural law. Natural law protects the marriage contract.

Marriage ritual.—The celebration of the sacrament of matrimony is remarkably simple. It consists

of the following elements: A declaration of consent is made by both parties and formally ratified by the priest in the following words:—"I unite you in wedlock in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." There is further a form for the blessing of the ring which the bridegroom receives back from the hand of the priest to place it upon the fourth finger of the bride's left hand; certain short versicles and a final benedictory prayer are recited. The ceremony, according to the intention of the Church, should be followed by the Nuptial Mass, in which there are collects of the married couple as well as solemn blessing after the Paternoster, and another shorter one before the priest's benediction at the close.

Betrothal.—The betrothal (Latin, *sponsalia*) is "the giving one's troth or true faith or promise. In the Roman Catholic Church it is deliberate and free, mutual true promise, externally supreme of future marriage between determinate and fit persons." It is a promise, compact or agreement not merely an intention; and unlike all contracts, it must be entered into with deliberation, proportionate to the obligation which it begets. It must be free from force, substantial error, and grave fear. The promise given must be mutual, and it must not be on the part of one only with the acceptance of the other, or it does not constitute betrothal. The consent must in all contracts be true and sincere, with the intention of binding oneself. This intention must be expressed verbally by writing, or by action in person or

by proxy. Further, this contract, like matrimony, can exist only between two definite persons whose capacity is recognised by the church. There should not be between them any matrimonial impediment, either as regards the legitimacy or validity of the contract. The betrothal is a promise of future marriage, and differs from marriage contract which deals with the state as in the present. A betrothal or compact is considered invalid by the church unless written documents have passed between the contracting parties, but its observance is not necessary to validate the agreement.

Marriage Ceremony.—Among the Roman Catholics their original caste customs are vague. Parents generally arrange the marriage of their sons and daughters without their consulting them. But custom may require that they shall comply with their wishes. Nevertheless their willingness or otherwise is ascertained.

Marriage is celebrated according to the rules of the Catholic Church when boys and girls are at least 14 and 12 years old respectively. When a young man has reached the marriageable age his parents look out for a suitable girl, and after such a one has been selected the services of an intermediary is availed of to ascertain the willingness or otherwise of the girl's parents regarding the proposal of marriage. In the event of their willingness, a day is selected when the father and the maternal uncle of the young man and one or two of his nearest relatives go to the

girl's house to talk over the matter formally and arrive at a definite settlement. A written promise by the bride's father to give his daughter in marriage to the young man selected, and a similar promise by the bridegroom's father to accept her are then made. The members assembled are sumptuously entertained and the day for the celebration of the wedding is also fixed. The bride and bridegroom along with their parents or uncles or one or two of their nearest relatives go to the bride's Parish Church and announce their intention of marriage when the priests of the respective parishes after ascertaining their mutual consent have the banns called on three successive Sundays or three days of obligation, to see if any impediment to the wedding is urged by any of the relatives or others of the community, in the absence of which they give their formal sanction to the proposed union.

At two periods of the year, from the first Sunday of Advent, till after the Epiphany and from Ash Wednesday, and also those days—the time from *Quinquagesima* Sunday forward, and in Lent “the solemnisation of the marriage is not permitted except on some ground of necessity. The parties are bound to go to confession before marriage, and when the priest who marries them is not their own confessor, it is necessary to produce a certificate of confession.

On a Monday the wedding is generally celebrated, though no objection is held against the other days of the week except Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays when they are forbidden to eat meat. A pandal

is put up in front of the house and decorated. On the wedding day the bride and bridegroom, well-dressed and decorated, and accompanied by their relatives and friends, go to the church. The bridegroom is accompanied by a best man, generally his sister's husband,—who binds the *tāli*. They are again asked as to their willingness for the marriage and on their consent being intimated the marriage service is read. This is attested by two witnesses. The actual words of union which the priest pronounces upon the contracting parties are,—‘I join you together in matrimony in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost’. These are intended to acknowledge and solemnly ratify the sacred engagement just effected by the contracting parties. The bridegroom then clasps the right hand of the bride; and upon this the priest or the vicar puts on his stole and sprinkles it with holy-water. The other prayers which are recited afterwards serve to implore more abundant blessings upon the couple just married. After this the priest, blessing the *tāli*, hands it over to the bridegroom, and he ties it round her neck, and a veil (*mantrōdi*), similarly blessed, is put over the bride's head. The *tāli* which is the marriage badge should not be removed as long as she remains a wife, and should be given to the church after her husband's death.

A special mass is appointed for weddings,—the mass *Proponso et sponsa*,—and in the course of this mass the nuptial blessing is given. It is considered desirable to sanctify so solemn an act

by having mass celebrated, but it is not of the nature of an obligation, and circumstances sometimes render it expedient to omit it.

The bridal party then returns to the bride's house in state, and large silk umbrellas are held over the married couple. At the gate they are received by the bride's mother, who marks the sign of the cross with a ring on the forehead of the bridegroom; and with one of the beads of a necklet a similar sign is marked on the bride's forehead also. They are seated in a conspicuous place and given sweets by the senior members of the family and then by others. The bride and the bridegroom are then led into the house by the best-man and the bride's uncle, and the guests are fed in order of rank. The guests depart, and the married couple remain behind, and on the next morning the bridegroom returns to his house with the bride and her party where similar formalities are gone through and the bride's party are similarly treated. The married couple are again taken to the bride's house, and after a stay of a few days there, they go back to the bridegroom's house. The wedding is then over. No special day is chosen for their nuptials which is left to the convenience of the bridal party.

Solemnization of Matrimony.—“As the day and time appointed for solemnization of Matrimony, the persons to be married standing together, the man on the right hand and the woman on the left, the Minister shall say, “Dearly beloved, we are gathered together in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together

this Man and this Woman in holy Matrimony; which is an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of Man's innocence, signifying unto us the mystical union that is between Christ and his Church; which holy estate Christ sanctioned and adorned with his presence and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee, and is commended of St. Paul to be honourable among all men, and therefore is not by any to be enterprised or taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly or wantonly; but reverently, considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained

"It was ordained that children might be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and to the praise of his Holy Name."

"It was also ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity."

"Into this holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can show any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace".

And speaking unto the persons that are to be married, he shall say,—

"I require and charge you both, (as you will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed), that if either of you know any impediment why you may not be lawfully joined together in Matrimony you do now confess it. For be ye well assured,

that so many as are joined together otherwise than God's Word doth allow are not joined together by God ; neither is their matrimony lawful".

The man shall then say, as required by law, in the presence of the Registrar and two witnesses.

"I do solemnly declare, that I know not of any lawful impediment why I, A. B., may not be joined in Matrimony to C. D."

In like manner the woman shall say, in the presence of the same persons,

"I do solemnly declare, that I know not of any lawful impediment why I, C. D., may not be joined in matrimony to A. B."

N. B.—The names of the persons to be married must be repeated as they stand upon the License or Certificate.

If no impediment be alleged, then shall the minister say unto the man.

"A. B.—Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded Wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou love her, honour, and keep her, in sickness and health,—and, forsaking all others, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?"

The Christian Ideal.—The New Testament does not profess any new law or theory of marriage. The answer of Jesus Christ to the Pharisees who questioned him on the subject of divorce (New Testament, 19³, M. K. 10²) implies that the perfect ideal of marriage is sufficiently declared in the passage in

Genesis which professes to record the original institution of the holy estate of matrimony. The teaching and legislation of the Christian Church may, therefore, from one point of view, be regarded as a series of attempts to define more clearly and fully what is implied in the words of the original institution and to enforce in practice the careful observance of the principles involved therein. The subject of marriage, therefore occupies only a small, space in the teachings of the New Testament, and is for the most part confined to general rules as to the behaviour of the married couple, such as might be found in the teaching of any heathen philosophers.

The spirit and the teaching of the New Testament tend to put the mutual love of husband and wife in the foremost place. Marriage has been described as a provision for the propagation of the race and the proper bringing up of children. The New Testament recognizes the importance of the Christian household and the rightful education of Christian children, but does not describe this as the main object of marriage.

Again, marriage has been regarded as a provision for the satisfaction of a natural desire and a restraint upon unbridled indulgence. St. Paul acknowledges that marriage serves this purpose, but does not give any great prominence (Corinthians, 7. 9.). According to the book of Genesis, marriage was instituted to satisfy the need of man's social nature, because it was considered that companionship with his fellows was necessary for the perfect developement of his nature. Marriage was there-

fore instituted to provide him with the closest and most intimate form of companionship. Thus the words—"the twain shall become one flesh" imply much more than a mere carnal relationship. This thought is instinctively developed by St. Paul in Eph. 5²².

The teaching of St. Paul about marriage as the symbol of the mystical union of Christ with His Church has a profound effect on Christian thought which elevates and purifies the conception of marriage. Marriage for the Christian is something more than the ordinary social institution. It is above everything else a "holy estate". Man and wife are no longer twain but one flesh. It is more than a physical union. It is necessary to bear in mind that this idea of a mystic psycho-physical bond formed in matrimony is essentially the sacramental view of marriage which is still the accepted doctrine of the Roman and Eastern Churches. It has had important practical consequences for Christian thought and Christian life.

Divorce.—In the Gospel there is no direct reference to marriage with the exception of the Christ's deliverances on the subject of divorce which consist of sayings uttered on different occasions. Divorce he says, is in itself sinful, and inconsistent with the original divine institution of marriage. In the Epistles there are numerous exhortations in which the duties of married persons are clearly declared. The supremacy of the husband as the head of the wife is recognized,

and duty of wifely obedience declared. Mutual love and consideration are urged with *considerable insight while the perfect unity of husband and wife "as one flesh" is duly emphasised.

The Gospel emphatically condemns divorce as essentially sinful. In ancient Rome divorce was regarded as dishonourable and therefore undesirable.

Divorce, in the strict and proper acceptance of the term, means the complete rupture of the marriage bond, the persons divorced being left free to marry again. Canonists and theologians however frequently apply the term to what is more properly called separation or, when sanctioned by legal process, judicial separation in which the vinculum is not supposed to be broken and re-marriage is therefore not permissible. The latter is described as *divortium a mensa et thoro*, in contradistinction to the more complete *divortium a vincula matrimonii*. It has been universally admitted that adultery and some other grave offences justify the separation of man and wife. Such separation is, indeed, contrary to the high Christian ideal of marriage; but under the new dispensation as under the old it is necessary owing to the hardness of men's hearts in this imperfect world to make provision for occasional failures to attain the perfect ideal. When this is the case with regard to separation there has been considerable difference of opinion on the more difficult question of divorce. Broad general principle is that divorce is something which ought not to be, that it ought not even to be thought of as a possibility

by Christian people, but the broad general principle is not to be regarded as a law binding universally and unconditionally. If any exceptions are to be allowed in what cases do they apply. Man and woman should not stand on the same footing as regards the right to claim divorce. No difference should be made between cases where both partners are professing Christians and those in which one is an unbeliever. These and similar questions have from century to century occupied the attention of Christian preachers and legislators.

The teaching of Jesus Christ on this subject is in four passages of the Cynoptic Gospels namely M. T. 5³¹ 19³⁻⁹ M. K. 10²⁻¹² and L. K. 16¹⁸. In Mark and Luke the prohibition of divorce and remarriage is absolute and unqualified; in Mathew the qualification saving for the cause of fornication,—“Except for fornication”.

Magico Religious Beliefs.—Charms and Amulets.

As has been already said, magic is divided into White and Black according as the help of good or evil spirits is called in. This distinction generally coincides with that between the ends desired—help or harm, defence or offence. The purposes for which they are used are threefold namely; (1) defensive charms (2) productive charms (3) charms of Christian origin. A brief account of each of these is given below:—

Defensive Charms:—The most important and commonest purposes of charm is that of averting evil. Modern Roman Catholicism with the numerous insignias of its brotherhoods, its medals struck in commemoration of ecclesiastical festivals, its meda-

lians in memory of different shrines and especially of pilgrimage centres has done much to encourage the faith. The form of crosses or medalions to be worn round the neck, the consecration of the Church and contact to religious things (relics and images) impart protective power even in Protestant circles; especially among the country folk, there is no lack in the use of amulets. They are used for the protection not only of men, but also of cattle which form to some extent man's most valuable possession. Men desire to protect not only their bodies but also their houses. Even the individual pieces of furniture and household are equipped with their inscriptions and magic characters. Charms are sometimes removed by a counter charm. In such cases the first business is to determine the nature of the enchantment in question, and then to nullify its operation. Christians are concerned mostly with the thwarting of demoniac miracles through divine power.

Closely allied to counter-charms is the use of charms for the purpose of healing. Sickness was held to be the working of a demoniac power, of some magic. An alliance spirit has taken possession of the man, and must therefore be driven out. To this end besides the recitation of formulæ, breathing upon the patient or anointing him with oil are all in vogue. The chief remedial measure is to bind the demon so that he can do no harm. This is done partly by the methods of sympathetic magic—some object is formally bound and certain knots are tied and partly through conjuration,

Sometimes magic is resorted to for detective purposes. On the threshold that divides working from seeing (charms from divination) stand the methods employed to detect the guilty among number of suspects and to establish guilt or innocence where only one is accused. If it was desired for example to discover who was the chief among a body of suspected persons, an eye was painted on the wall, and the suspects were led past it; he whose eyes filled with tears as he went was the thief.

Protective Charms :—Charms can also be used for positive ends—the promotion of the forces valuable to man.

A kind of magical manuring is also in use. Holy waters are sprinkled on the land before and after sowing. There are instances of the use of consecrated waters for this purpose. Closely connected with the fertility charms are those for the regulation of the weather, whereby the various conditions of rain or sunshine that are most suitable for the growth of crops are produced or the destructive forces of draught hail-storm the like are called into action. To cause rain, some water from the brook is sprinkled in the air or vessels of water are poured over the earth. A naked maid with a herbal on her right foot was conducted to the river, and there sprinkled by other maidens. In these practices sympathetic magic is obviously preponderant. To avert threatening storms, charms are again the means. Fires are kindled and various things are thrown upon them. A cross is pointed to the four quarters of the

heaven and holy water is sprinkled in the air.

To be fertile, and to leave issue behind one is the dearest of man's desire, and for its attainment various charms are used. Among them are throwing peas into the lap of the bride, eating the fruit of a tree for the first time are instances of the kind.

The means of effecting easy and safe delivery are also very numerous, and many in universal use such as crawling through something, opening the locks of doors and chests, opening the blades of knives, and many peculiar to the church are instances of the kind.

Even after the birth of a child a series of productive charm processes are adopted to ensure it long life, health, bodily strength and intellectual capacity. In naming the child an effort is made to gain for it a powerful patron by choosing the name of a powerful saint. But further methods are adopted to affect directly the length of life. If a boy's sight is bad it could be improved by the ceremonial ablution of the effigies of saints in the churches accompanied by the recitation of many prayers and passages of Scripture. Similar methods were also helpful when a child was slow to learn. He was taken to Church during Mass and given wine and water to drink in a glass vessel inscribed with the names of the 24 heavenly elders.

Closely related to these are the various forms of love charms for producing, securing or regaining love. Similar methods are resorted to in conjugal quarrels.

Many charms are of non-Christian origin. Among the precious stones preference for amethyst in episcopal rings is connected with the ancient beliefs in magical properties of this stone. Gold also is valued as a preservative for its freedom from rust. Bathing and cleansing were important ceremonies in magic; and magicians always resorted to them for exorcism.

Among the charms of Christian origin it is noteworthy that the spiritual are the most prominent. First comes the name of Jesus, Biblical Text, Liturgical Formulæ and prayers. In the second rank stands the Sign of the Cross, and only a subordinate position is held by the properties of material objects.

The name of Jesus appears everywhere as the vehicle of personal powers. He who knows the name of a spirit is its master and by naming it he awakens its powers to activity. Biblical formulae after the name of Jesus was also very effective.

The Liturgy provided magic with a very considerable number of powerful formulæ. Many of them are certainly of Biblical origin; but their use in magic is due to their position in Liturgy. A favourite among many Trinitarian formulæ was "God is my hope", "Christ is my refuge", "The Holy Ghost is my defence". Very often the formulæ of prayer are readily converted into magic spells. This has been seen in the magic use of the Lord's prayer. The boundary between

prayer and spell is always indistinct. The prayers of Christian magic are generally constructed after the Heathen magic. The Holy Cross as the protective charm is largely used by Christians who gave a prominence to this symbol above all others and loaded it with Christian thought and claimed it for its own peculiar possession. By far more general is the practice of making the sign of the Cross with the hand on breast, forehead and all parts of the body for protection against all kinds of danger. With the sign of the Cross the Christian is sealed in baptism and secured at once against all malevolent witch-craft. Sacraments, the official teaching of the Church could not prevent a magical interpretation being given to their religious effects. Baptism was held to cleanse *ipso facto* from all sin. Children who die after baptism attain immediate blessedness. The unbaptised are doomed to hell.

Among the material instruments of Christian magic, the relics of Christ and the Saints called for the first notice. Pieces of wood from the Holy Cross were treasured after its supposed discovery by Helena. Nails even from a gallows were supposed to be effective charms. The Holy nail from the Cross possessed extraordinary virtue. Every saint possessed healing and protective power and this power resided in every particle of his body. The relics of St. Gratus quenched forest fire in Aosta in 1542.

The power of pictures of Saints were also supposed to possess magical powers and special

virtue was assigned to those of miraculous origin and also to copies of them.

Among the preliminary requirements the satisfaction of a number of personal conditions is as necessary to charm working as it is to worship. The chief among them is freedom from sin and especially from sexual pollution. Therefore children were frequently entrusted with the operation in drawing lots and in clairvoyance. Pregnant women were also employed. A preliminary fast was necessary to the reception of a revelation and was also frequently required.

THE APPLICATION OF CHARM—

A peculiarity of magic is its fear of knots. Every knot represents a binding, and may therefore carry a counter-active force. Therefore the clothing must be free from all knots. Complete absence of clothing was abhorred in the Christian Church though common in Black Magic. Time and place are also very important. Charms are especially and sometimes exclusively efficacious if applied before sunrise. Midnight is the hour of spirits. Magic had also its holy places.

Marriage and Family.—The Church has rendered great service by the precise recognition of the social import of marriage by having sanctified and imposed duties that cannot be evaded by those who contract it—duties towards each other, duties towards their children, duties towards society. Marriage is regarded as a sacrament in the interest of the reproduction of the species. The Church earnestly enjoins on husband and wife,

the duty of attachment, of mutual fidelity, of mutual love, the duty of bearing one another's faults with patience, of sacrificing their selfish desires for their common good, the duty of rearing their children in such a manner that the latter shall grow up in their turn good soldiers of Christ and good citizens of society.

The Christian doctrine relating to marriage affords a good example of the union of the two ideas of inequality said to be characteristic of the socialistic teaching of Christianity in general. The wife is to be subject to the husband, is to obey the husband; and yet the husband and wife are absolutely equal before the moral law. The social inequalities which prevail in this finite world of ours are necessarily reflected in the family which is the nucleus of society. Husband and wife are not equal in the eyes of the social law, because the social value of the work performed by each is different, and to the difference in social value of their respective labour must be added the physiological labour between the two. The husband is the head of the family in virtue of a natural law, which applies to every species, because he is stronger, and it is to him that the duty falls of supporting his wife and children. The social value of the husband's labour in civilized society is necessarily higher than that of the wife's, because it is the husband's labour that permits the wife in her turn to work and to accomplish her domestic duties. It also contributes to the maintenance and welfare of society as a whole. It is

for this reason that St. Paul enjoins on wives the duty of submission to their husbands. Jesus also insists strongly on the duty of the husband, and he is careful to drive home with special force the idea of the real indissoluble unity of husband and wife. If they be one person, the husband must necessarily love his wife and care for her. The notion of the equality of the husband and wife before the moral strongly safeguards the rights of the weaker vessel. Saint Peter also gives similar instructions and says: "Ye, wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they may also without the word be won by the conversation of the wives, while they behold your chaste conversation coupled with fear. Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plating hair, and of wearing of gold or of putting on of apparel, but let it be the hidden men of the heart, in that which is corruptible, even the ornament of meek and quiet spirit which is in the sight of God of Great price. For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves being in subjections unto their own husbands even as Sarrah obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord; whose daughters ye are, long as ye do well and are not afraid with any amazement".

Having assured the fulfilment by the husband and wife of their reciprocal duties, Christianity is careful to ensure that both fulfil their duties towards their offspring. St. Paul declares that those who neglect their children are worse than infidels. Jesus insists more than once on the

rights and dignities of children, and especially when he set forth the child-like heart as a necessary condition for entrance into the kingdom of Heaven; Except ye repent and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of Heaven. As to those who are guilty of corrupting the innocent and of destroying the faith of one of these little ones, it were better that a millstone were hanged about their neck and they were cast into the sea.

The family is a school in which the individual cannot fail to learn the great ideas of duty, responsibility and what submission and discipline mean. The members of family are linked together by ties, *sui generis*—ties at once of physiological and psychological nature, which do not exist between the members of any other group, or of any other organization. Hence, the supreme importance of maintaining intact these ties and the family structure without which the family functions cannot be performed. Unless the family be strongly integrated, the individuals composing it will never learn the great and fundamental social duties alone can inculcate; the family cannot be integrated, its cohesion and solidarity cannot be assured unless husband and wife be fully conscious of the common duties and of their responsibilities, and unless they regard them as a solemn stewardship for which they have to render an account to society.

Thus the family is a great School of duty wherein each one learns the meaning of the world

responsibility. There is no higher duty than this, no doctrine more eminently adapted to the wife by the condemnation of the husband's unfaithfulness, by the indissolubility of the marriage tie, by its insistence on reciprocal duties towards their children, and its having made of the family a great school of duty and responsibility, a great preparation for social life. Christianity, and particularly Catholic Christianity has proved itself an invaluable factor of social integration and social stability which can only be assured by the integration and stability of the family.

In the doctrine opposed to the Catholic Church, and so greatly in favour to-day, marriage is said to be nothing but a social contract, a simple formality to be gone through before carnal desires are satisfied. In this case, the interests of the two persons contracting marriage are alone considered, without recognition of the many duties imposed by marriage, viz., duties of mutual love, and forbearance, mutual patience, mutual sacrifice and of the numerous duties of parents towards their children. The physiological desire having been satisfied, it is found that after a time satiety sets in, and that marriage which has no more stable foundation than a physical basis, is founded upon sand. The family instead of being a school of moral training and discipline becomes a school of discord and anarchy.

Post Natal Ceremony :—When a young woman is to become a mother, no special ceremony is performed for her ; but during the seventh month the pregnant

woman is taken to her parent's house, where she remains for three, five, or seven months after the delivery. The guests, maternal or paternal uncle, and sister, who are with her, are entertained, and at the time of her departure she is given a few cloths and other necessaries.

Delivery and Child-birth:—The newborn baby is bathed in tepid water, and is fed with drops of honey in which gold has been rubbed. The women attending on her are considered unclean, and anoint themselves with cocoanut or gingelly oil, and become purified by a bath in the neighbouring tank, a stream or a well. It is only after this bath that the woman can enter the kitchen or touch any article outside the lying-in-room, or women of other families who go to visit her. On the day following the delivery, the mother is bathed in warm water boiled with medicated herbs. She is fed with rice during the first few days. The mother is said to be unclean for fifteen days after which she is purified by a bath, and her room is well swept and cleaned. The woman in confinement bathes several times during the first fifteen days and every day thereafter. She is subject to a course of the treatment and diet, and does not go on with her usual routine until after ninety days.

Baptism:—(*Gnāna Snanam*) in Malayalam (bath to attain wisdom) or *Manodisa* in Syriac. It takes place on the seventh day among the Roman Catholics. The children are accompanied by sponsors. The water for baptism is first consecrated

and the infant placed in the stone font and the water lifted up in the hand of the priest and poured or rubbed over the whole body of the child, and it is also anointed with holy oil on the forehead, ears, chest and feet, both before and after baptism. There is a long series of ceremonies besides the simple baptism,—the exorcism of evil spirits, a strange custom of mixing warm and cold water, with the assertion that John mixed with water for baptism, and Christ sanctified it, went down into it and was baptised, and an investiture of the baptised person with the priest's girdle and crown, of which the latter is removed by the priest seven days after the baptism, with the prayer that the child may receive instead of it a crown of glory. The doctrine of regeneration in baptism is strongly stated.

Baptism is the sacrament to cleanse man and woman from original sin and makes them children of God. It clothes their souls with the beautiful garment of Divine grace, and puts into their hands the bright lamp with which they are to wait for the bridegroom. As soon as they are baptised, the priest gives them the emblems of this special grace. He first puts over them the white garment and says, "Receive this white garment, and see thou carry it without stain before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ". Then he puts a candle into their hands and says, "Receive this burning light and keep thy baptism so as to be without blame. Keep the commandments of God,

that when the Lord shall come to the nuptials, thou mayest meet him in the company of all saints in the heavenly court and have eternal life, and live for ever and ever."

Baptism and the gift of the Spirit:—

The Holy Spirit may be given in baptism. Thus, St. Peter said to the multitudes on the day of Pentecost, "Repent and be baptised every man of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost (Act II, 38)". It may be given before baptism as in the case of Paul (Acts IX, 17 and 18) and of the company baptised in the house of Cornelius (Acts IX, 44-46). It may be given after baptism as in the case of those baptised by Philip. (Acts VIII, 16-17).

It is in order to safeguard yet more efficaciously the interest of the child that the Church has instituted "god-parents", that is to say, persons who are directly responsible before the Church, for the moral and material welfare of the infant persons, who, being "parents in God", have the duty imposed on them of aiding and assisting the natural parents or of replacing the latter, should they neglect their responsibilities. With the decline of faith, the office of god-parent has come to lose all practical meaning.

The Roman Catholic Church first of all reminds the god parent that as a vigilant guardian of the faith and purity of the child, he shares with its parents the grave responsibilities of its Christian education. He will have, therefore, to

see that the child is instructed in time in the truths of religion and in its duty as a Christian. He will be careful always to help and assist it by his advice, his prayers, and his good example. The Church, in her maternal solicitude, goes yet further; she entreats him, in the interest of the child, to be careful that it be confided only to a Catholic nurse, whose morals are pure, should its mother be unable to nourish it; and later he will have to see that the child is handed over to the care of Christian teachers and masters.

The Church enjoins on him also the duty of taking every precaution so as to preserve the child from all danger and to protect it from all accidents, until it has attained the age at which it can protect itself. He will preserve, before God, safe and sound, pure and innocent, this little child that our holy religion confides to his affection and to his piety.

The god-parents are thus what their name implies, the spiritual guardians of the child, responsible for the latter's moral and material welfare. Immense is their responsibility before the moral law, and before God, to whom they will have to render strict accounts of their stewardship. But the responsibility of the god-parents by no means excludes that of the natural parents; the one merely supplements the other. The god-parents are an extra safeguard, the counsellors of the parents, those to whom falls the task of seeing that the parents fulfil their duties. The parents are not allowed to resign their powers

into the hands of the god-parents; paternal responsibility is, on the contrary, a responsibility that can never, under any circumstances whatsoever, be evaded. It is therefore that the parents have to fulfil the paternal duties. Only in the case of the parents proving themselves unworthy of their high and sacred mission, must the god-parents execute the task which should be performed by the parents. It was to prevent the innocent offspring suffering from the effects of parental unworthiness and parental neglect that the Church created the institution of god-parents, but let not parents imagine that this institution was created in order to permit them to evade their own responsibilities.

Feeding the Baby.—The ceremony of first feeding a child with rice (the *annaprasanam* or *chorunu* of the Hindus) is celebrated in the sixth month after birth. Parents often make vows to have the ceremony performed in a particular church, as Hindu parents take their children to particular temples in fulfilment of special vows. On this occasion the maternal grand-parents supply a string of ornaments for a male child, the largest ornament being a gold cross; for a female, a golden ducat or coin suffices. Parents take great pains to have many and costly ornaments tied round the neck of the child. An ornament consisting of a tiger's claws set in gold, curiously carved, is worn round the waist or neck of children for good luck.

Ear-Boring :

In the sixth year of a girl, ear-boring takes

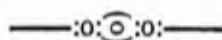
place. The operation is conducted by an elderly woman, usually her aunt. The ear-lobes are distended by the insertion of pieces of cork sticks or cotton, or by the suspension of small lead weights. The wounds are healed by the application of medicated oil. The tops of the ear-lobes are also bored to hold heavy ear-rings. In all the Post-natal ceremonies the Indian Christians observe many of their caste-customs.

Religion : A Church originally meant an assembly called together. In its ideal conception the Church is an ideal body and in this sense consists of persons who have accepted the Divine call for repentance and faith. Space forbids me from giving a detailed account of the sacraments. The reader may refer to my volume on the Anthropology on the Syrian Christians, Chapters X, XI and XII, pp. 149-204.

Social Organization.

For the proper government of the Native Christians both in social and religious matters, the localities in which they reside are divided into parishes corresponding to villages. Each Parish has a Church managed by a priest who with the help of the elderly members preside over all social disputes and pronounce their joint decision in accordance with the nature of the offence. All minor offences of the parishoners connected with the religion are brought to the notice of the vicar who after consulting with a few of the elders gives them a light punishment such as to

provide the supply of oil or candles for lighting the burning of frankincense in the Church or fines in the shape of money according to the means of the offender. In the case of serious sins the parishioners assemble in the church and carefully inquire into the matter and the delinquents are punished according to the gravity of the offence. If the offenders do not submit to the punishment they are placed under an interdict by which they are barred from attendance in the church during ceremonies. In no case have a woman who has gone wrong be allowed to be divorced. Their decision is sometimes sent to the Bishop for approval.



III. JUANG ASSOCIATIONS.

BY NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE, M. SC.

In the last issue * we described the family organisation of the Juangs of Pal Lahara. In the present paper we shall proceed to describe other forms of social organisation which are prevalent among them.

The Sib.

Juang society is divided into a number of father-sibs, the names of which are given below. The first list was obtained in the village of Kantala in Pal Lahara, while the second is from Patuasahi in the adjoining state of Dhenkanal. Patuasahi is a village which lies about three miles to the north of the town of Dhenkanal, so it can be considered as lying almost at the southern limit of the territory occupied by the Juangs, while Kantala lies in the very heart of that area.

<i>Pal Lahara</i>	<i>Dhenkanal</i>
{ Dāda Bak	
{ Kiring Bak	Kiring Bak
{ Lānjim Bak	
Bāngrud Bak	
Bānāi Bak	Bānāingeng Bak
Gungi Bak	
{ Tāngarpāliyā Bak	
{ Sārem Bak (or Sārang Bak)	Sārang Bak
{ Bāning Bak	
Kerēḍā Bak	Karāḍā Bak

* "Man in India", Vol. VIII. No. 4, October-December, 1928, pp. 233-242.

Buitini Bak
 Munuing Bak
 Halae Bak
 Hātisādīa Bak

Buitini Bak
 Muṇuing Bak
 Hātisaḍ Bak
 Dunguriyā Bak
 Kela Bak
 Teis Bak
 Kalim Bak
 Kancha Bak
 Sindiriā Bak
 Rangate Bak
 Kutabanda Bak
 Odhoḍa Bak
 Barach Bak
 Taḍabada Bak
 Lehung Bak
 Oleng Bak
 Chhāmundīa Bak
 Saḍim Bak

All of these are exogamous groups, except those which are bracketed together in the list of Pal Lahara. The groups *Dāḍā—Kiring—Lānjim* and *Tāngarpāliyā—Sārem—Bāning* may be considered as two father-sibs with three subdivisions in each. A person belonging to any of these subsections cannot marry into the other two subsections, for the latter people are considered to be their "brothers", i. e. relations with whom marriage would be incest. So far as I know, the three subsections of the above two groups have no duties to perform towards each other.

The bonds which tie the members of a sib.

Different families which belong to the same sib are considered to be related by blood, although no such connection can be traced geneologically. When a person dies in a sib, all the members of that sib, who live close to each other, go into mourning.

Sib-names are transmitted from father to son. On marriage, a woman enters the sib of her husband and does not go into mourning when anybody dies in her late sib.

Origin of the sib-names.

The origin or meaning of most of the sib-names could not be given. But two of the above names are of trees, while one is that of an animal. A third name in the above list denotes a famous village situated in the Juang country. *Tāngarpāliya* comes from village Tāngarpāl in Keonjhar; and the members of this sib claim to have come originally from that village. Mani, my instructor in Juang, is a member of the *Tāngarpāliya Bak*. The names *Kiring* (*Coraya antidysentrica*) and *Bāngrud* (?) are those of trees and the members of these two sibs would not cut those trees as they are considered to be kinsmen. *Banāi* is the Juang name for the bear. Members of the *Banāi* sib are said to 'be very hairy; but I have not yet come across any one belonging to this particular sib. Bears are said to do no harm to members of the *Banāi* sib, who in turn reciprocate the consideration by never hurting a bear. None of

my informants could tell me why some of the sibs had adopted the names of certain plants and animals; evidence of descent from these totems was therefore lacking.

Segregation of unmarried people.

The bachelors of a village are clubbed together in a common house named the *darbār*. Their association is called the *majāng*. During initiation into membership, the boys have to go through certain ceremonies, which will be described later on. At the head of the *majāng*, there is a chief; but I am not sure if he is elected by the members or instituted in that office by the village-elders.

The members of the *majāng* sleep in the *darbār*; but they eat their meals at home. In Kantala, the members pass the whole day in the *darbār* by working on bamboo and weaving baskets. These baskets are however their private property and the proceeds go to fill their own pocket.

The unmarried and grown-up girls of a village are likewise grouped together. But they have no club-house of their own, nor has their association any distinguishing name. The girls only sleep together with some widow who may have a room to spare.

Tribal organisation.

The Juangs are called *Juāga* or *Patuā* by the Oriyās, but they call themselves *Juāng* or *Patrasaara*. (पतुसारा). They explain the latter term by saying that they are the *Saaras* who wear *patra* or leaves. Some of the Juangs live on the hilly

tableland of Keonjhar, while the rest occupy the adjoining valleys of Pal Lahara and the hilly tracts of Dhenkanal. There are two main tribal divisions among them, viz. the *thāniyā* and the *bhāguḍiyā*, meaning 'those who dwell in their original home,' and 'those that have fled'. The Juangs of Keonjhar who live on the tableland are *thāniyā*, while all the rest are *bhāguḍiyā*. Even the Juangs who live in village Baunsapal in the valley north of Malyagiri range are considered to belong to the latter section, although they live just at the foot of the Keonjhar tableland. It is said that the *thāniyās* and the *bhāguḍiyās* do not dine with each other; neither do they intermarry. A *bhāguḍiyā* considers himself to be comparatively purer and superior to a *thāniyā* Juang. But this is from the report of a *bhāguḍiyā*, and it would be interesting to see how they are regarded by the other people.

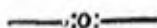
An interesting story is told in connection with the origin of this two-fold division in the Juang tribe. It is said that once a rājā who ruled the Juangs took it into his head to be the first person to lie with a Juang bride after her marriage. The Juangs became furious and murdered the rājā. They crushed his head in a *dhenki* or a husking mill. The meat was distributed in leaf-cups to the Juangs who were present. But some of them refused to eat the meat and left the country. They are the *bhāguḍiyās* while those who ate the meat, remained where they were and became the *thāniyās*.

*Relation between the Juangs and the Bhuiyas
and Savaras.*

It has already been said that the Juangs call themselves the leaf-wearing Saaras. But as a matter of fact, they say that they have absolutely no connection with the Savaras (सवरा), who live close by them. On the other hand, the Juangs say that they are related to the Bhuiyas. There is a tradition in the village of Kantala that formerly there lived two sisters. The Bhuiyas are descended from the elder sister while the Juangs are the children of the younger one signifying that the two tribes are closely related to one another. As a matter of fact, however, the Bhuiyas do not touch or accept even water from the Juangs, although the latter eat rice cooked by a Bhuiya.

There is little doubt that the Bhuiyas were formerly the ruling tribe in this part of the country. I have seen some of these Pauri Bhuiyas, but have not yet been able to observe their culture in detail. From various local reports, it has been gathered that until lately the Bhuiyas practised jhoom-cultivation and used a simple digging stick for sowing seeds; their only musical instrument is the same as that of the Savaras and Juangs, namely a flat drum called the *Changu*; they have the same *darbar* or bachelor's dormitory in each village; they eat fowl's meat and sacrifice fowl to the gods; their women do not cover their head; theft during nightly dance at the *darbar* is a recognised form of securing a

bride ; society is divided into a number of exogamous patrilineal sibs and so on. In all these matters, there is agreement between the Juang, Bhuiya and the Savara. But the problem remains as yet unsolved as to why the Juangs consider themselves related to the Bhuiyas alone and not to the Savaras, although all of them live close to one another in the north-western portion of Pal Lahara, and profess practically the same culture.



IV. JAIN-KURUMBERS:—AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR LIFE AND HABITS.

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, B. A., M. R. A. S., F. R. A. I.

During March of last year I was deputed by the Madras Government Museum to accompany the Anthropological Research Expedition headed by Dr. Baron Von Eickstedt, sent to India by the State Research Institutes of Leipzig in Germany, to facilitate his tour to the Malabar District and to help him in his study of the primitive tribes of Malabar, including the aboriginal tribes of the Wynad hills. The expedition afforded me splendid opportunities to study the hill tribes under ideal conditions.

2. Wynad, as its name denotes, is the land of forests, being derived from the two words Vana-Nad, which in course of time came to be pronounced Wayanad. Many and varied are the tribes that have found a shelter and a home in the mountain fastnesses and dense forests of the Wynad. The diversity of its tribes puzzles the on-looker as he takes a bird's-eye view of its diverse castes and tribes assembled at the great festival of Vallur Kavu, situated in the wilds of Manantoddy, one of the greatest of the shrines of Wynad, to which flock the numerous hill tribes. The festival to the Goddess Bhagavati which takes place in March of every year is perhaps the greatest event in the Wynad, which amply repays a visit. Bhagavati is worshipped here in three forms, as Vana Durga or the Durga of the

forests, as Jala Durga in the adjoining hill stream, and lastly as Bhadrakali between these two places. It is noteworthy that feeding the sacred fish in the stream is considered as a means of propitiating the diety, and on festival days the surface of the pool is thick with offerings of beaten rice, plantains etc. thrown by eager devotees for the fish to feed on, which come very close to the shore as if in grateful acknowledgment of the sumptuous repast. Col. James Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* (Vol. 2), 1812, refers to it as "a Pagoda of great antiquity observing that the river close to it is extremely deep and full of large fish which come and eat rice and crumbs out of peoples' hands." The visitor, as he goes past the sacred pool, faces the vast array of the tribes of Wynad gathered there. He surveys the Paniars with their thick mass of curly hair, and features which easily mark them off as by far the most primitive of the hill tribes, the women looking picturesque with their big broad ornaments encircling the ear lobes, closely set with the seeds of the wild liquorice, all camping in their primitive huts of bamboo put up temporarily for the duration of the festival; the Kurichiyans with their bows and arrows, the Kurumbers, the Kunduvettians, the Kaders, the Muppens, the Adiyers, the Chettis and a host of others. The tribes who come are all fed there, which attracts them from far and near.

3. The aborigines of Wynad are reckoned as the Paniyers and the Kurumbers. The former have however long given up their jungle life and

are not forest dwellers. They are largely employed by the people of Wynad as agricultural labourers and form faithful servants. But the Tēn or Jain Kurumbers still live their life in the dense jungles and have only in recent years emerged out of their seclusion. The only extant account of them is that given by Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes* who speaks however mostly of the Jain Kurumbers of the Mysore and Nilgiri forests. ¹ A short account of their kinsmen in Wynad is given in Gopalan Nair's *Wynad*, ² a useful guide on general topics. A fuller account of the Jain Kurumbers attempted here will therefore be of undoubted interest in a study of the ethnological aspect of this and similar hill tribes. These tribes were studied in about the vicinity of Tolpatti, on the borderland of Wynad and Coorg, where they mostly abound.

4. At the outset it may be observed that the word Jain does not mean a follower of the Jain religion. The word is only a corruption of Jēnu or honey in Kanarese, as Tēnu is in Malayalam, for which reason they are also known as Tēn Kurumbers. This denotes that collecting honey might once have been their principal means of livelihood. The Kurumbers of Wynad are subdivided into three broad divisions, the Mullu Kurumbers who are cultivators and hunters, speak Malayalam and wear the hair tuft in front like the Malayalee; the Bet or Vettu Kurumbers also called Urali Kurumbers, who fell trees and are

¹ *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p. 155.

² *Malabar Series, Wynad*, by Gopalan Nair p. 108.

artisans making all kinds of agricultural implements, baskets and umbrellas and speak a dialect of Malayalam and Kanarese; the Jain Kurumbers who had not ventured out of their huts on the mountain slopes until quite recently, and still dwell in the forests. They speak a corrupt form of Kanarese, and show close affinity to the tribe of the same name in the Mysore forests from where they must have migrated. In their dress also they are more akin to Mysore than to Malabar Kurumbers. The women wrap their body in a coarse white cloth one end of which passes under the left armpit, with the other end coming over the right shoulder, where the two ends are tied in a knot. The women wear bead necklaces and brass bangles. The men ordinarily wear a coarse loin cloth. It is apparent however on closer observation that they in common with the rest are beginning to feel the effects of the civilisation around them and are aping the manners of their superiors, cutting the hair close and using coats which are very dirty and which ill become these simple folks. Men and women have a partiality for flowers and deck themselves profusely with them.

5. *Dwellings*.— They live in village settlements consisting each of a number of huts. Living such secluded lives out of the sight and sound of outside civilisation they are keenly alive to the need for a corporate existence. Selecting a convenient slope in the hills with an abundant

supply of bamboos, they clear the under growth and erect their simple structures of plaited bamboos, planted in the ground, the sides being further protected by banking up earth all round. Their huts of grass and bamboo cost next to nothing and are constructed in clusters of ten to fifteen, collectively called a *hadi*, forming a village. Each of the huts goes by the name of a *padi*. A hut usually has an open veranda in front and an enclosed room behind. No stranger is ordinarily allowed access to the huts and under no circumstances is any one allowed to enter with shoes or sandals on. This they strictly observe in common with the other hill tribes. This is ascribed to the fear of the wrath of the deity expressed through the headman, involving the offending occupant of the hut in expensive propitiatory ceremonies. The veranda serves as a place of recreation and as a kitchen, on the floor of which may be seen two or three logs of wood with a smouldering fire. A triangular frame work of bamboo is suspended by cords from the roof, over which meat or other food is cooked over a slow fire.

6. *Means of livelihood*.—As may be expected the principal article of food is the flesh of wild animals, ordinarily deer or wild goats which swarm the forests. The meat is dried in the sun or over the fire, and preserved on strings or stored in pots. It is interesting to note that they do not know the use of bows and arrows and do not own them. They mainly hunt with their wild dogs which they tame for

the purpose. The dogs scent and track the game which when brought at bay is instantly maimed by blows on the limbs with stout sticks which they carry for the purpose, and are killed by the bill hook which is their only weapon. They are also keen in scenting kills of animals by the tiger or by wild dogs. A flight of eagles or kites circling high up in the air ordinarily denotes to the keen eye of the Kurumba dead game half eaten by the tiger or being consumed by the wild dogs. They also subsist on wild edible roots, which is a common article of food.

As we were entering one of the principle Kurumba village, a group of women was seen wending their way to the forests for edible roots, carrying sharp pointed sticks called Kuzhikkol and the *gulali*, as the broad spade with a long handle is called. They also raise a small crop of *ragi* near their *padi*. A small plot of ground is turned over with the *gudali*, and seeds are sown about the beginning of rains. The forest department in their great need for securing labourers hold out inducements to get and retain them, chiefly by assigning plots of government land close to their *hadi* with advance of seeds to start them in cultivation, and rupees fifty in money, with which to buy cattle for the plough, the money being recoverable in small instalments spread over a year by short deductions from the daily wages. Where they are thus persuaded to cultivate, a small settlement of Pāniyars with their ruder and more primitive and fragile huts may be seen, to attend to the agricultural labour involved. But the system is so

difficult to work that the forest officers find it hard to recover the sum within the period, as in the event of any pressure, they run the risk of the men deserting them, as they often do for work in the coffee and tea plantations which also offer them good terms.

Speaking of them in 1911, Gopalan Nair in his brief account of them in his *Wynad* (p. 112) writes, Jain Kurumbars are a "primitive race without a history and they are happy in their mountain slopes with means of subsistence always available in the shape of edible roots. Another decade, they will also be working for wages "in the tea estate and earning their livelihood like their brother "aboriginies of Wynad". The prophecy has been more than fulfilled. Both men and women are largely employed in the plantations and with the additional avenue of employment in the Government in the Government Forests both as labourers and as elephant *mahouts*, they are fairly contented. Their partiality to tobacco may incidentally be mentioned. The expedition to measure and record their physical characteristics was viewed by them with great distrust and disfavour and their employers naturally feared that any pressure might be prejudicial to good work and might result in their deserting them altogether. Presence of tobacco and betel nut, which were freely distributed after the recording of each group, however gladdened their hearts and finally reconciled them to the measurements.

7. *Social organisation.*—The social organisation of the whole *hadi* centres round the headman who is ordinarily the oldest man of the village. Comparatively little affected by outside influences. their mode of life today in the main cannot be far different from that of their forbears. The headman is very much respected by all the residents of the village. Social offences are tried and disposed of by the headman who imposes penalty for all misdemeanours. He is the priest of the whole *hadi*, officiates at the ceremonies, and is believed to hold communion with their god—Masti, who has no shrine but is represented by a wooden or stone figure carefully kept in a small basket in a corner of the inner room of the headman's hut. The god communicates through him to the worshippers, his oracles, and his likes and dislikes. On ceremonial occasions the deity is taken out by the headman and is duly worshipped with ceremonies in the presence of all the men and women of the *hadi*, and the headman becomes in time possessed of the deity. We came across what looked like a baby's rattle, a dried gourd with gravel inside, which in reality transpired to be the instrument which the priest flourishes when he is in a trance,—probably to create a calm atmosphere to usher in the deity. It is noteworthy that spirituous liquors do not ordinarily form a feature of these ceremonials, probably due to the fact that that alcohol is not available in the forests or in the neighbourhood.

8. *Puberty ceremonies.*—As soon as a girl attains her puberty, she is kept indoors, away from the

gaze of others, until the ceremonies are over. On the 7th day the girl is taken out for a bath after which she is conducted to a pandal specially erected for the purpose, which should have twelve pillars (neither more nor less). On the floor is made a design of flower work with rice flour and the girl is seated cross-legged on it. The women singing songs sprinkle rice on her legs, hands, shoulders and head. She is then taken out in procession to a rivulet or jungle spring close by where her legs and hands are washed. She takes water there in four small copper vessels. Returning home she washes the feet of the elder male members of the place with the water she carried apparently in token of respect, and also as an indication that she is no more under pollution.

9. *Marriage*.—Marriages are contracted by mutual arrangement between the parties with the previous consent of the parents. The father or uncle of the bridegroom goes to the bride's guardian with a necklace of beads which on his acceptance of the match is handed over to him. On the wedding day the bridegroom and the party proceeds to the bride's house with cloth, brass bangles, rings and ear ornaments which are given to her. Both parties dance in merriment round the girl; the blessing of the god is invoked and the headman on behalf of the god blesses the couple. The bridegroom taking the hand of the bride, another dance follows. After the feast the bridegroom departs with the bride to his hut where a dance and betel-nut and tobacco bring the ceremony to a close. Marriage is not permitted before puberty

Alliances with a view to marital union frequently begin with clandestine meeting of the lovers and the girl usually elopes with her lover to the latter's *hadi*. A search for the girl is made and she is usually traced to one of the neighbouring houses. The men of either village then meet in conference and a settlement is made. It is interesting to record that at the moment of our visit to one of the villages there was an instance of such marriage. Though the men turned up for the anthropometric measurement, the women mysteriously enough kept back for a considerable time. On enquiry it transpired that a young girl of the neighbouring village had eloped with her lover to the latter's hut, and the women fearing reprisals from her village were keeping aloof. They were however persuaded to come and among the group was the girl looking perfectly happy and cheerful, the daughter of one of the prominent men of the *hadi*. Her lover was also a prominent man of the neighbouring village who had three wives previously. There is no limit to the number of wives a man may have, though this is naturally determined by the man's economic condition. The marriage tie is also not inseparable, the wife being free to leave her husband's household, if he brings another girl to his hut as his wife against her wishes, or for other sufficient reason. A separation takes place which is settled by the elders, the daughters going with the mother and the sons continuing with the father. Polyandry does not prevail, the woman having but one man as her husband at a time.

When a woman is approaching confinement the elderly women of the village gather at the hut and perform the necessary services. The child is bathed every day till about three months. The cord is cut with a pair of bamboo splinters and the placenta is buried close by the house. The woman remains indoors for full three months during which period the husband cooks and does all work. The naming of the child is the occasion for a ceremony which is performed after the expiry of three months period. The god Masta is worshipped and the priest of the *hadi* gets into a trance and is possessed of the god, when he pronounces the name that should be given to the child.

10. *Funeral customs.*—Except in the case of children the dead are cremated. Balls of rice are offered to the soul of the deceased every day for two weeks during which the pollution lasts.

11. *Physical characteristics.*—In conclusion, a few observations may be made about their physical traits. Physically short of stature and not of muscular build, the Jain Kurumba is capable of great endurance on a minimum of food. They are also characterised by their short platyrrhine noses, sparse beard, small narrow eyes, and wild matted hair, the structure of the hair being more straight than curved. Measurements of 60 men and 60 women were secured with great difficulty. The measurements themselves are not yet available

for publication, as the material has not yet been worked out. The results when published, which will be as soon as Dr. Eickstedt is in a position to work on the vast material that he has collected, will no doubt yield very interesting conclusions in regard to the racial type to which these hill tribes belong, and the possible divergences existing between the main types. *

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* Read at the annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress, 1929.

V. MATERNITY AND COUVADE IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A., P. R. S.

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Maternity or motherhood is respected in every phase of culture and the attention paid to expectant mothers by society explains its attitude to this cultural ideal. Savage society watches with interest the gradual development of motherhood and the expectant mother is given an importance and distinction seldom met in higher stages of culture. The sympathy born of an appreciation of the service the pregnant woman is about to render to the community or tribe determines its attitude to the woman, and in all his relations with her the savage assumes a responsibility for the safety of the woman unequalled in advanced societies. Every birth in the tribe aids the multiplication in the number of tribesmen, so conception and birth are apparently of tribal or communal importance. The sympathy displayed and help rendered by the women of the village to the new mother and her family give an idea of reciprocity of relationship between the members of the same village but not of a survival of group life led by the people. As soon as information spreads that a particular woman is in the family way the villagers exercise a secret invigilation over her, which she is seldom allowed to realise. When she stirs out of her house, or goes to the forest unaccompanied, to collect fruits or roots or to gather fuel for cooking,

she is watched from a distance unseen by her. The husband and other members of the family are all attention to the woman, all her needs are promptly attended to, all her desires satisfied and like the snake king Takshak, the supposed ancestor of the Maharajah of Chota-Nagpur who had to divulge the secret of his incarnation to his inquisitive wife about to deliver her child, all her curiosities are explained and the members undergo any amount of personal inconvenience to render her every possible comfort.

In primitive societies where residence is patrilocal, the child is generally born in the house of the father which leaves no misgivings as regards paternity but in matrilocal as well as matrilocal-patrilocal societies paternity seems dubious in certain cases for husbands are not always permanent members of the family group. So certain processes have to be adopted to ensure the identification of the child with the actual father. The presence of the father in the house at the time of birth with the custom of couvade determines the descent of the child from the husband and therefore primitive society introduced couvade as essential to tribal solidarity. The custom of couvade in its original form is found nowhere in the present century but survivals of this institution with various modifications are met with in all parts of the globe. The Basques of the Pyrennees possess very little faith in couvade now but a century and a half ago, when a couple had a child the wife got up and went about on her daily work as well as she might, while the

husband went to bed to lie-in-state and receive the visits of neighbours. The institution received the greatest sanctity amongst the Indians of Brazil, who till recently believed that the violation of this custom is followed by ill-luck to the child as well as disaster to the whole family. Nor is the custom found in India in its pristine form, but certain observances in primitive societies may be explained as survivals of the once prevalent custom of couvade. When a couple gets a child, the husband observes pollution for a fixed number of days. A Kol husband is considered impure as well as his wife, and he sits apart and cooks for her and takes a sip of the purifying draught which is administered to her. A Majhwar husband has to take a drink of a cleansing draught of ginger, turmeric and molasses which is offered to the wife after delivery. The Koravas, the Agariyas and the Kharwars also observe this custom; the husband takes a mouthful of the cleansing draught which is given to the mother. The Kharwar husband does not perform any work on the day his child is born. The husband and wife are confined in a room for a month in Kolhan as both are considered unclean. As soon as the child is born the father cuts the umbilical cord with the skin of the maize (*gangāi singi*) and has to bury the placenta and the umbilical cord in a new earthen vessel in a hole dug in the courtyard and thereafter the father begins to cook food for both. He also partakes of a pulse-juice which is offered to the mother after delivery. These are observances which may be explained as survivals

of the custom of couvade which was once practised in widely separated regions.

With the gradual evolution of sex-consciousness in primitive society, the question of the determination of fatherhood engaged much attention and, in cases of doubtful paternity, conventional methods were devised to ascertain the responsibility of the brothers sharing one wife together as amongst the Todas or the Tibetans, or of the several husbands who visit one particular woman as amongst the Nairs. When the husbands are related as brothers the eldest brother counts as the father of the joint wife's children and other brothers are spoken of as uncles. The first born child is sometimes fathered upon the eldest brother while children born subsequently are traced to the second, third or fourth brothers, one after the other so that there is a method of affiliating the child even in polyandrous society. "The king's children amongst the Nairs shall not inherit the kingdom after their father, because they hold this opinion that perchance they were not begotten by the king their father but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king one of the sons of the king's sisters, or of some other woman of the blood royal, for that they be sure that they are of the blood royal." The writer of this was an Italian merchant who travelled through India in 1563 A. D. and to this gentleman we owe many facts of Nair polyandry which have since then gradually disappeared. Whether transmission of property to the sister's son originated from the uncertainty of fatherhood is a question which

cannot be solved so easily but this much is certain that determination of paternity was extremely difficult in Nair society. Even then there existed a conventional method of ascertaining paternity by certain ceremonies as for instance the bow and arrow ceremony. Certificates of birth are given now to the couple concerned, and so modern society has not to undertake any public propaganda to announce the birth of a child but even with modern facilities, certain rites and observances are mixed up which recall the earlier stage of society when they are considered as essential for admission of paternity. A glance at the working of the village polity in India shows that the artisan classes, such as the barber, washerman or the scavenger all hold distinct positions in the social organisation of the village group and on every occasion of birth and death in the village these artisans have to perform certain prescribed duties which are indispensable to the village polity. Not that the services of these people were essential to the family concerned but because this elaborate arrangement left no doubt in the minds of the people about the fatherhood of the child. The same idea was at work in primitive society which introduced a convincing code of conduct culminating in the original form of couvade. The pollution and other taboos observed by man at the birth of a child signify the admission of responsibility for the child, and society has no difficulty to trace the child to the actual father and his family. In most of the primitive societies in

India, the birth of a child is greatly coveted for not only does it add to the tribal strength but it forms a connecting link between man and wife which minimises the risks of domestic life and reduces the instability of family life during the first few years of matrimony. The absence of pregnancy rites does not indicate that pregnancy is taken as a matter of course and the expectant mother receives no attention from the family or the society but instances from primitive societies may be multiplied to show that prescribed customs and taboos are smoothly observed and regulate the activities of the pregnant woman. The interest of the tribe is concentrated on the woman and she receives much sympathetic treatment from the social group, as described above.

VI. SOME BENGALI KINSHIP USAGES.

BY ATUL K. SUR, M. A.

1. *A plea for the scientific study of cultured peoples.*

At the present moment a subject which demands the attention of all serious students of Indian Anthropology is the study of cultured peoples. Anthropological studies like charity must begin at home. But hitherto the tendency of the student of anthropology has been to lay great emphasis on the study of primitive folks to the exclusion of cultured peoples. One justification for such one-sided study that is often put forward is that primitive peoples are dying out with such alarming rapidity that unless they are now made a subject of specialised study there would probably soon come a time when there might be no aborigines left for our scientific study and so an interesting chapter in the history of the evolution of human civilisation would remain unwritten. But this does not constitute an argument for the simultaneous neglect of cultured peoples as a province of scientific enquiry. In fact we generally overlook the substratum of primitiveness that still lurks in the so-called Aryan culture of India. As a result of contact with Western civilisation this primitiveness in its simple form in the cultured societies of India is fast disappearing, thus making it increasingly difficult for us to gather materials in the field. We should therefore pay our attention equally to the study of cultured as well as of primitive peoples,

2. *Some primitive elements in Bengali culture.*

The object of this short paper is to give an account of some primitive traits in the culture of the Bengalis, who are one of the highly cultured peoples of India. These primitive traits relate to the kinship usages which obtain among them. They are not negligible and obscure elements in the life and culture of the Bengali race. They colour their family life to such an extent that an intelligent foreigner will not fail to notice them if he only cares to stop at a Bengali home for a few days. They can be conveniently treated under three heads:—(i) Taboos, (ii) Licences, and (iii) Functions.

Taboos. *

1. *Elder-brother-in-law and maternal-uncle-in-law taboos.*—Foremost among the Bengali kinship taboos are the elder-brother-in-law (*Bhāsur*) and the maternal-uncle-in-law (*Māma s'vas'ur*) taboos. These two types of kin are tabooed to a Bengali wife—she must carefully avoid them. She must not show her face to them, or touch them, or speak to them, or utter their names, or appear before them. On the other hand, the elder-brother-in-law or the maternal-uncle-in-law must not look at her face or touch her or speak to her except through an intermediary. They must indicate their approach by some method or other so as to permit of decorous adjustment of her clothes or

* It may be noted that the taboos described below or most of them are fast falling into more or less disuse in cultured Bengali homes.—*Editor*.

to give her time to conceal herself in a corner. In fact there is complete inhibition of social intercourse between them. It has been stated above that these are primitive traits in Bengali culture and we have to corroborate our statement by concrete illustrations. Thus among the Yukaghirs (a Siberian tribe) we find rules forbidding conversation between the elder brother and the younger brother's wife ⁽¹⁾. Similarly, the Andaman Islander (who belongs to one of the rudest tribes of the world) shows a great deal of shyness in the presence of his younger brother's wife, never communicating with him except through an intermediary ⁽²⁾. Even in India the analogous taboo has been observed among the Birhōrs, who lead a hand-to-mouth existence in the jungles of Chota Nagpur. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, who is responsible for an admirable monograph on this "once little-known" people, describes how among the Birhōrs the names of the husband's elder brothers and male cousins are tabooed to a wife ⁽³⁾.

2. *Son-in-law's house taboo*—Besides the elder brother-in-law and the maternal uncle-in-law taboos there is another taboo which may be called the *son-in-law's house taboo*. According to this taboo a Bengali mother-in-law must not visit her son-in-law's house. But this taboo does not involve any

(¹) Jochelson—*The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, xiii 1910 p. 75.

(²) Man—*On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, 1880, p. 68.

(³) Roy—*The Birhors*, p. 137-138.

rupture of social intercourse with the son-in-law. He will behave towards her exactly in the same way as he behaves towards his own mother.

3. *Name taboos*—To a Bengali wife it is not only the names of her husband's elder brothers and maternal uncles which are tabooed, but the names of almost all of her husband's elder kins irrespective of their sex. She must not even utter the name of her husband. If there be any occasion to mention his name she must either alter the initial letter of the name or paraphrase it. Thus if the name is *Kālī* she must either change the name to *Nālī*, *Tālī*, *Bālī*, etc., or use some such synonym as *S'yāmā*, another name of the goddess *Kālī*. This name-taboo is observed with such rigorous consistency that she will not utter any word which approaches the name in sound. Thus the wife will not say *kal* meaning tomorrow or yesterday but will either pronounce it *nāl* or resort to some other means to indicate it, e. g. the day before to-day or the day after to-day.

4. *Infraction of the taboos*—If accidentally a Bengali woman touches her maternal-uncle-in-law or elder-brother-in-law, this infraction of the taboo is expiated by fasting by both the kins for the day and the performance of a rite on the day after, known as the *Dhānsonā rite*. The infraction of other taboos only involves social reprobation.

Privileged familiarity.

Diametrically opposed to avoidance rules, are rules allowing and prescribing familiarity between individuals standing in a specific relationship. The

types of kin among whom reciprocal familiarity may obtain are many but mention will be made here of only two types:—(i) a woman and her husband's younger brothers, and (ii) a man and his wife's sisters. These two types of kin indulge in reciprocal familiarity of a very intimate character. Among them it is thought proper to flirt and joke and to use obscene language without any limitation and frequently with reference to topics of cohabitation. Like the taboos, such privileged familiarity has also been reported from primitive peoples. Thus privileged familiarity between a woman and her husband's younger brothers has been observed among the Black-foot and Crow Indians (two American tribes). (*).

Functions.

Among the Bengalis certain kins must perform certain functions on certain occasions. Thus at the *Annaprāsanam* (the ceremony of putting rice or some other article of food into the mouth for the first time) of a child it is the child's maternal uncle who is required to put food into the child's mouth. According to another usage a man is presented with clothes and other articles at the time of his wife's younger sister's marriage. Until he receives the presents the girl cannot be married. This usage is known as *Jāmāivaran*. According to another usage a man when he returns home after marriage with his bride, his younger brother obstructs his entry into his room, and would not give way unless the elder brother pro-

(*) Lowie—*Primitive Society*, p. 100.

mises that he would soon get his younger brother married. It has been pointed out above that among the Bengalis a man must not touch his younger brother's wife. But this rule is relaxed only once under the following circumstances. Among the Bengalis the coming of a wife for the second time to her husband's house is called *Dvirāgamana*. If the *dvirāgamana* takes place within the first eight days of marriage the elder-brother-in-law is required to touch her while she crosses the threshold of the house. If this takes place beyond the eight days of marriage, he is not required to perform this function, for he is then absolutely tabooed to her.

Origins.

Sociologists tell us that the origins of most of those kinship usages lie embedded in the social institutions of bygone times. That all of the taboos, or all of the licences, or all of the functions, should have a common sociological or psychological origin is a highly improbable assumption on the face of it. (5). For instance, the elder-brother-in-law taboo in accordance with which only the elder brothers of the husband are tabooed, is sociologically and psychologically of a quite different origin from the maternal-uncle-in-law taboo in accordance with which all maternal uncles *irrespective of their age* are tabooed.

The origin of the Bengali kinship usages are very obscure. They cannot be traced in the ancient law books of the Hindus. Some of them can

(5) Ibid, p. 101.

however be explained by means of propositions enunciated by Eur-American sociologists to explain similar usages in other parts of the world. Thus, Dr. Lowie connects the elder-brother-in-law taboo of the Andaman Islanders with the co-existing form of marriage known as the junior levirate and enunciates the principle that social and sexual restrictions go hand in hand, a conclusion adopted in more general form by Dr. Goldenweiser on the basis of Sternberg's unpublished Gilyak data and by Dr. Rivers as a result of his Oceanic researches. Dr. Lowie also offers a supplementary proposition, namely, that licensed familiarity generally obtains between potential mates. ⁽⁶⁾ The elder-brother-in-law taboo among the Bengalis can also be explained with the help of the above propositions as being the result of an original junior levirate rule. According to the junior levirate rule, the husband's younger brothers only inherit the widow—the elder brothers are barred, the younger brothers-in-law are thus potential mates. The elder-brothers-in-law are outside the category. Hence the origin of the elder-brother-in-law taboo and the younger-brother-in-law licence. Though junior levirate does not today obtain among the Bengalis, yet we know from literature that it obtained among the Hindus in ancient times. The modern prevalence of the practice of junior levirate among the Hindus of Orissā, who, we know, are ethnically of the same origin as the Bengalis, also support us in our thesis that junior levirate at one time obtained

⁶) Lowie—Primitive Society, p. 102.

currency among the Bengalis. The proposition that licensed familiarity generally obtains between potential mates may be invoked to account for two other usages, namely, the wife's younger sister licence as well as *Jāmāivaran*. By the latter the man is perhaps simply conciliated to waive his marital rights over his wife's younger sisters. This practice of marrying wife's younger sisters is technically called sororate. It is an obligatory practice. But did obligatory sororate ever exist among the Bengalis? The answer will probably be in the affirmative. For, in the first place, it is not a very rare practice among the Bengalis to marry the younger sister of the wife who is dead. Secondly, from the earliest literature of Bengal, namely, *The Lays of Manikchandra* we learn that when Harischandra gave his daughter Aduna in marriage to king Gopichandra, he gave him as dowry his only other daughter Padmā. (7). Thus we see that these two sets of Bengali kinship usages, namely the elder-brother-in-law taboo and the younger brother-in-law licence, and the wife's younger sister licence and the *Jāmāivaran*, are in all probability derived from levirate and sororate respectively. The explanations of other Bengali kinship usages are not easy to give. But some day light would be thrown on their origins with the advance of our knowledge of the social history of early Bengal. A systematic social history of early Bengal based on the early literary sources is a desideratum.

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(7) D. C. Sen—*Vanga Sahitya Parichaya*, p. 47 (vol. i).

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the March (1929) number of *Man*, Mr. F. J. Richards contributes an interesting note on "Black Magic" in which he describes an incident witnessed by him on February 26th, 1900, at Arantangi, a little country town in the extreme south of Tanjore District. He saw the Brāhman families in the town, in a panic, stripping the thatch of the roofs of their houses and removing their belongings to the street. On enquiry he learnt that overnight no less than seven houses in different parts of the Brāhman quarter had been pelted with volleys of stones thrown by invisible hands. Stone-throwing continued in broad day light, and fire broke out in a Brāhman house even in the forenoon after Mr. Richards' arrival and a rag-ball discovered under the eaves of the house was found to consist of damp strips of rag and tow rolled tightly together with a small fruit stone at the centre, and smelling of phosphorus. Blobs of boiled rice, coloured, some yellow, some magenta, and all mixed up with clippings of human hair and nail pairings were found secreted in and about the kitchens of these houses. The purity of the kitchen is a point on which the Brāhman is most sensitive and if the cooking place is defiled there is no alternative but to quit or starve. This orgy of arson was locally attributed to blackmail; some professed expert in sorcery had, it was said, demanded a contribution from each household in the Brāhman quarter (*agrahāram*), and was refused.

In the December (1927) number of *Folk-Lore*, Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, contributes a paper on *The Vish-Kanya or Poison-Damsels of Ancient India*, illustrated by the story of *Susan Ramsagar*, the poison-damsel of the Persian Buzo-Nameh.

In the same number of *Folk-Lore*, M. C. De, Beauvoir Stocks gives a Lap-cha Creation Story.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, July to December 1928, Dr. H. Hutton contributes an article on *The Significance of Head-hunting in Assam*. Dr. Hutton is inclined to think that the Naga practice of taking heads to put on graves is merely the result of the influence of contact with head-hunters on a people practising human sacrifice in their funeral ceremonies. The soul is believed by the Nagas of Assam and several other tribes to be a fertilizer and to reside in the head. Therefore if fertilizing soul-matter is required, a simple way to get it is by cutting off and taking home a head.

In the *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, for December 1928, Prof. S. C. Mitra, contributes a *Note on the Birhor legend about Ravana's abduction of Sita*, and *Notes on some South Bihari-godlings of fishery and hunting*.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for January, 1929, Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar contributes an article on *Daavidian Civilization in Palestine*, Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer continues his

article on *The Malayarayangans of Travancore*, and Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his *Studies in Bird-Myths* and *Studies in Plant-myths*.

The *Assam Review* for March, 1929, contains a short article on the *Murungs*, one of the numerous tribes of shifting cultivators of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The author was struck by "the cheerfulness of the people under difficulties which utterly dismay the average civilised man", and "the complete absence of all vice except occasional intoxication".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Mr. Jainath Pati contributes an article headed *Is Indo-Aryan Invasion a Myth?* In this he refers to certain considerations, philological, archæological (Mahenjodaro and Harappa finds), which according to him negative the inference of an Aryan invasion into India.

In the same number of the *Journal*, Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray makes some additional observations in support of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's theory (*Indian Antiquary*, 1910) that there was hardly a class or caste in India (the Brāhmans and Kshatriyas not excepted) which had not a foreign strain in it.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution.—By *J. B. Danquah, B.A., L. L. B. (London). (Routledge. 1928). PP. X+272 Price 10 s. 6 d. net.*

This book is written by a learned Akan himself from the purely African standpoint, uninfluenced by preconceived ideas or theories of what Akan customs probably are or ought to be. As a plain and simple presentation of Akan customs by one from within, the book is of inestimable value to the student.

By a sifting analysis of the customary laws as actually practised in the Akan tribal states the author seeks to bring out the essential nature of aboriginal African institutions. Political power among the Akans goes with rank in the army. The control of the people over the chiefs who govern them is exercised through the Amantoo-mimensa Council whose principal members belong to the other Councils provided by the Akan Constitution. Though Akan kings come of the warrior stock and the foundations of Akan authority are rooted in armed strength, all chiefs are regarded as sacred persons, and any disrespect shown to them has to be expiated by propitiatory sacrifices.

The learned author provides us with a wealth of material regarding existing facts connected with Akan institutions but does not seek to trace their historical origins. The book is a valuable contribution to ethnological literature.

Dragons and Dragon Lore.—*By Ernest Ingersoll. With an Introduction by H. F. Osborne. (Payson & Clarke. New York, 1928). PP. X+203. Price \$ 3. 50.*

In this erudite and most interesting study of the Dragon myth Mr. Ingersoll has collected, collated and systematised all available information about the Dragon in Legend and Romance, Tradition and Mythology of all countries.

The forms and shapes attributed to this mythical creature in different countries by different peoples are as various as its characteristics and attributes. The book is divided into fifteen chapters headed as follows:— I. Birth of the Dragon; II. Wanderings of the Young Dragon; III. The Divine Spirit of Waters; IV. Draconic Grandparents; V. The Dragon as Rain-God; VI. Korean Water and Mountain Spirits; VII. "The Men of the Dragon Bones"; VIII. The Dragon in Japanese Art; IX. The Dragon's Precious Pearl; X. The Dragon invades the West; XI. The "Old Serpent" and his Progeny; XIII. Welsh Romances and English Legends; XIV. The Dragon and the Holy Cross; XV. The Glory of St. George. A Bibliography of name and an Index complete the book.

The book will prove to be one of fascinating interest not only to the student of Anthropology, Religion and Mythology but to the general reader as well.

South Africa's Past in Stone & Paint.—By *M. C. Burkitt, M. A., F. S. A., F. G. S.* (Cambridge University Press, 1928). PP. XIV+183. Price 12s. 6 d. net.

In this well-written volume, Mr. Burkitt has attempted a connected account of the prehistoric past of South Africa as it was unfolded to him in the course of an archaeological tour undertaken by him at the invitation of the University of Cape Town. The story of South Africa's past as depicted by the author forms a series of migrations from north drifting slowly into the country one after another, and, having arrived, intermixing with each other and sometimes forming new local developments, the whole process continuing until quite recent times. The culture of the earliest South Africans was Lower Palæolithic, though nothing can be said as to whether this Lower Palæolithic culture of South Africa is contemporary with or later than the Lower Palæolithic in the North. Our author is inclined to think it is of more recent date. The Mousterian or Middle Palæolithic culture, which occurred widely in North Africa and probably survived there till a far later date than it did in Europe, must have played its part in influencing the older Lower Palæolithic culture in South Africa and the late Lower Palæolithic Fauresmith industries, although Mr. Burkitt did not come across any sites in South Africa where the industries were purely Middle Palæolithic. At such sites as that near the Glengrey Falls, however, there is evidence of the

existence of an almost pure Middle Palæolithic industry with an apparent admixture with Neolithic elements instead of Lower Palæolithic elements. The discoveries made at Bambata in Southern Rhodesia and at Howieson's Port point to a Neolithic invasion of South Africa in pre-Wilton times. The Capsians of the north coasts of Africa were part and parcel of the Neolithic race, and the Howieson's Port folk represent the final stage of a southward trek induced no doubt by the increasing dryness of the climate which forced the inhabitants to quit the cradle of their race.

The Still Bay culture, Mr. Burkitt believes, is a hybrid resulting from a contact of this Neolithic invasion with the earlier peoples in South Africa, and he suggests that the Middle Palæolithic influence mentioned above played a part in the evolution of the special Still Bay lance-head.

As a further proof that the Still Bay culture is essentially South African and an autochthonous growth, the author notes that true and typical Still Bay sites are all found in the extreme south of the continent. The Smithfield culture, which is frequently found with paintings of the Central Art Group and with rock engravings and has a distribution restricted to the Union, is, Mr. Burkitt thinks, an autochthonous growth like the Still Bay culture, and may have been due to contact between the Wilton invaders and the older inhabitants of the country, possibly the folk of the Fauresmith culture, and this perhaps

gave rise to the Lower Smithfield culture which rapidly developed into an Uper Smithfield culture that existed until a century ago. The occurrence of pigmy tools in the Kitchen Middens and the peculiar custom of painting the burial stones laid on the bodies suggest a fairly close connection between some of Kitchen Midden folk and the Wilton artists. The earliest series of art groups in Southern Rhodesia were painted in all probability by the first Neoanthropic invaders. In the Union itself the Wilton people seemed to have developed a peculiar and not particularly beautiful style, whereas the artistic mantle fell on the folk belonging to the Smithfield culture. The Wilton culture in the extreme South of Africa is in a final stage of development and far more developed than in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Burkitt has placed students of African pre-history under a deep debt by the publication of this volume.

Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture.—By S. V. Viswanatha. *Trubner's Oriental Series.* (Kegan Paul, 1928). PP. VII+234. Price 10 s. 6 d. net.

In this book, Mr. Viswanatha attempts to trace the processes in the gradual fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan culture in India and the evolution of the distinctive type of culture known as Hindu civilization. This blend of culture, the author opines, was "sometimes the result of conscious processes of admixture while at other times the

fusion was effected in a way unknown both to the Aryas and the non-Aryas." "A spirit of conciliation and compromise seems to have pervaded the relations of the various peoples of India even from the beginning of her history, and the Hinduism of later times was the result of this absorption and assimilation of elements, Aryan and non-Aryan".

Two remarkable new features which grew out of the interaction of Arya and non-Arya ideas were the holy pilgrimages and the Bhakti cult. "The Hindu pantheon shows that the gods were partly adapted from the non-Aryas, and the religious customs and observances were the result of influences, Aryan as well as non-Aryan". "Pollution and untouchability resulted primarily out of hygienic, physiological, sentimental and ethical objections". The polyandry such as that of Draupadi, our author thinks, was the relic of a custom borrowed from the non-Aryas. An attempt is made to identify the 'Nagas', 'Nishadas', 'Vanaras', 'Rakshasas', and 'Gandharvas' of ancient Sanskrit literature with different 'non-Aryan' tribes of India.

A passing reference is also made to the prehistoric remains of Adichanalur and the finds at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. The author inclines to the view that the cradle of the Aryan race was in the Himalayan region.

One or two inaccurate statements appear to have inadvertently crept in. Thus at p. 22, the Orāons are incorrectly classed among the 'Kolarians'. The Orāons are a Dravidian-speaking tribe who appear to have migrated into Choṭā Nāgpur from further

South. One also suspects that the distinction between the great Dravidian race and the Dravidian-speaking pre-Dravidian aborigines is occasionally ignored.

On the whole, however, this is a well-written book and deserves the attention of students of Indian Ethnology and Ancient Indian History.

Man Rises to Parnassus. Critical Epochs in the Prehistory of Man.—*By H. F. Osborn, A. B., Sc. D., L. L. D., Ph. D. & C. H. (Princeton University Press, 1927). PP. XIX+217. Price \$ 2. 50.*

The theme of this extremely interesting book is the gradual rise of the higher powers of man. As such it is a fitting and necessary sequel to investigations hitherto mainly directed to the anatomical characters of fossil man. In this volume stress is laid on the bearing of these anatomical characters on our knowledge of the development of the mind and spirit of man, the elucidation of which should be the goal of all prehistoric research. With regard to the future Rise of Man, our author writes,—“Races, “species” and stocks of man arise in the same manner that races, species, and genera arise among other mammals. The rise of primitive and of uncivilized man is subject to the same laws as those which prevail throughout the animal kingdom, until human civilization steps in

and interferes with the natural order of things. Thus when man begins to specialize and human races begin to intermingle, Nature loses control. It appears that the finest races of man, like the finest races of lower animals, arose when Nature had full control, and that civilized man is upsetting the divine order of human origin and progress.....Racial deterioration appears to prevail throughout the world to-day; our policy seems to be that of care for the individual, neglect for the race. The doctrine of individualism, so rampant everywhere, is the greatest deterrent to national progress.....The future rise of man is intimately related to that of the special race to which he belongs; this is true not only of his physical nature but of his mental and spiritual nature as well—they too depend on the mental and spiritual ascent of the race of which he is a unit. Every race has a different kind of soul,—by soul is meant the spiritual, intellectual and moral reaction to environment and to daily experience,—and the soul of the race is reflected in the soul of the individual that belongs to it. This racial soul is the product of hundreds of thousands of years of past experience and reaction—it is the essence or distillation of the spiritual and moral life of the race..... Care for the race even if the individual must suffer—this must be the key-note of our future..... We must be concerned above all with racial values; every race must seek out and develop and improve its own racial characteristics. Racial consciousness is not pride of race, but proper respect

for the best qualities and characteristics which race possesses... ..

"When our understanding of the spiritual, intellectual, and moral, as well as physical, values of races becomes more wide-spread, the course of the rise of Man to Parnassus will again take an upward trend and the future progress of the human race will be secure".

With regard to the cradle-land of man, Dr. Osborn prophesies that "the still undiscovered Dawn Man will be found in the high Asiatic plateau region and not in the forested lowlands of Asia".

The book is bound to find a warm welcome at the hands of all anthropologists.

Dacia. An Outline of the Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries.—*By Vasile Parvan. (Cambridge University Press. 1928) PP. XI+216. Price 7 s. 2 d. net.*

This book embodies the substance of a course of lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1926 by the late Roumenian Scholar, Professor Pärvan of the University of Bucarest. It has been translated into English by Mr. I. L. Evans and Mr. M. P. Charlesworth. Prof. Pärvan holds that the Dacians and Getæ inhabited the Carpathians from as early as the middle of the second millennium B. C., and proceeds to trace the influences which thereafter came to be exercised upon the people of the Carpathians successively by the Villonovans, Scythians, Greeks, Celts, and Romans.

The book will form an excellent introduction to

the archæology and history of the Carpatho-Danubian countries.

The Most Ancient East. The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory.—By V. Gordon Childe, B. Litt. &c. (*Kegan Paul, 1928*). PP. XVI+258. Price 15 s. net.

This is a most fascinating and up-to-date account of the prehistoric discoveries of the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia and last, but not least, the Indus valley. Prof. Childe clearly depicts the civilization of the most ancient East as an organic unity in which Egypt, Sumer and India were truly linked together. The prehistoric cultures of Europe, our author points out, were originally mere adaptations of and emanations from this Oriental civilization. The recent discoveries in the Indus valley reveals the existence in the fourth millennium B. C. of a mighty civilization in intimate touch with the Iranian plateau and the young city-states of Babylonia. There was also maritime intercourse between Mesopotamia and the Red Sea. As none of these people was a sea-faring one, Prof. Childe suggests that there was a fourth party, a maritime people who acted as intermediaries between Egypt, Mesopotamia and India, and this people was probably found along the southern coast of Arabia. The author further suggests that India or some intermediate country like the Iranian plateau or Southern Arabia, may successfully put in a claim to be accepted as the cradle of civilisation. Finally the

author shows how metal-working and other higher cultural elements may have been introduced into Europe from the ancient East. The book presents a most lucid summary of the new facts of the beginning of civilized life in the Ancient East together with some authoritative interpretations. The book is copiously illustrated.

The Cambridge History of India, Volume III. Turks and Afghans.—*Edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., C. M. G., C. B. E. (Cambridge University Press. 1928). PP. XXXII+752. Price 42 s. net.*

Students of Indian History will eagerly welcome this exhaustive and well-written account of Muhammadan rule in India from the Arab conquest of Sind in A. D. 712 down to the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty at Panipat in 1526. Besides the main stream of Indian History during that period, subsidiary streams such as the rise and fall of independent Muslim kingdoms in different parts of India and the fortunes of certain Hindu States in both Northern and Southern India are not left alone. Even the history of Burma and that of Ceylon during the period are dealt with by competent scholars. In the final chapter (XXIII), Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology in India, deals with the monuments of Muhammadan rule in India between the years 1200 and 1526 and supplies as many as 104 illustrations to illustrate them. An excellent bibliography, a detailed chronology and an exhaustive index complete the volume.

The volume will long remain the standard work and source-book of study and teaching about Indian History of the period. Sir Wolseley Haig and the Cambridge University Press are to be warmly congratulated on the productin of this splendid work.

The Life and Times of Alì Ibn Isa, 'the Good Vizier'.—*By Harold Bowen. (Cambridge University Press. 1928). PP. XVIII+420. Price 25 s. net.*

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MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. IX. } JUNE—SEPT. 1929. { No. 2 & 3.

I. THE BHUMIJ OF MAYURBHANJ (Orissa).*

BY TARAK CHANDRA RAY CHOWDHURY, M. A., P. R. S.

Introduction :— The Bhūmijes are one of the Hinduized tribes found in the state of Mayūrbhanj. Etymologically the term 'Bhūmija, means one born of the soil. The name might have been given to them by the immigrant Hindus who found them already in possession of the land. They are a dolichocephalic and platyrrhine people with wavy hair and dark complexion. Dalton classes them with the Kolarians on linguistic grounds. Risley thinks "that the Bhūmij are nothing more than a branch of the Mundas, who have spread to the eastward, mingled with the Hindus, and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe. This hypothesis seems on the whole to be borne out by the facts observable at the

* The materials of this article were collected in the Anthropological excursion with the Sixth Year anthropology students (Calcutta University) 1928, in the Mayurbhanja State, under the kind patronage of His Highness the late Maharaja of Mayurbhanja.

present day. The Bhumij of western Manbhum are beyond doubt pure Muṇḍās. They inhabit the tract of the country which lies on both sides of the Subarnarekhā river, bounded on the west by the edge of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau, on the east by the hill range of which Ajodhyā is the crowning peak, on the south by the Singbhum hills, and on the north by the hills forming the boundary between Lohardāgā (Ranchi), Hazaribāgh and Maubhum districts. This region contains an enormous number of Mūṇḍāri graveyards and may fairly be considered one of the very earliest settlements of the Mūṇḍa race".¹

Language :—Whatever might have been their original language they now speak a kind of broken Oṛiyā in which they have borrowed considerably from Bengali.

Tradition of origin :—The Bhūmijes of Mayurbhanj do not claim to be the original inhabitants of the soil. According to a tradition prevalent among them their original abode was in Tāmuliā in Bihar.² There lived a man named Mūṇḍā, who had

¹ Risley,—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1892. Vol. I. p. 117.

² The writer appears to have been misinformed about it. There is no place called 'Tamulia' in Bihar. Their original abode only a few generations back was in Tamar Pargana in the district of Ranchi, in Chota Nagpur; and they are known as Tamarias or Tamar Mundas or Tamar Bhumijes. The writer notes this correctly in the section on Social Organisation (P. 99 *post*). The Tamar Pargana is separated from Mayurbhanj by the district of Singbhum where there is a large population of Tamarias some of whom still maintain their connection with their relatives in the Tamar Pargana.—*Editor*.

four sons. As their descendants increased in number, they migrated in different directions and one came to Mayurbhanj. The Hindus from whom they freely borrowed their customs and manners seem to have been later immigrants.

According to a tradition referred to by Dalton, ³ Sing Bongā was self-created. He made the earth and animals and a pair of human beings. Twelve boys and girls were born to them. They lived as husbands and wives as desired by him, and as a result of their pairing, sprang up all human beings—Hos, Bhumijas, Brāhmins, Chhatris, S'ūdras, Bhuinyās, Santāls, and Ghāsis.

Distribution:—They are distributed all over the States their chief centres being the following villages:—

Porāostia, Rāngāmāti, Dhānpur, Jayāvila, Jāmbonī, Pratāppur, Baldia, Haripur, Nārisāi, Palāsvani, Kātladi, Muccāsai, Dhovādhovānī, Vaidipur and Vāḍapāra.

House:—They live in commodious two sloped houses about 30 ft. × 15 ft. These are constructed of bamboo and *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) sapplings, tied with grass ropes and thatched with grass. The walls are made of bamboo and *sal* sapplings and twigs plastered over with mud on both sides. The walls are sometimes decorated with designs of elephants and, men riding on horses of and paddy stalks painted with rice powder mixed with water. A Tamulia house is provided with one entrance,

³ *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872. (p. 184).

and a bamboo and wood frame work serves as a door. Sometimes a veranda covered by a projection of the front thatch serve as a drawing room, where the males and females sit in their leisure moments, smoking their homemade cigarettes. At one end of the house there is a raised platform which serves as a granary and at the other end there is the cattle pen. At one side they cook. They sleep on mats spread on the ground, sometimes on hay. Some of the household articles are hung from the ceiling. In well-to-do families there is a separate house for granny and one for cattle.

The families are huddled together in a village with no partition wall to separate one family from another. In harvest times fences of small branches of trees are made perhaps to protect harvest stacked in their courtyards from the cattle. Before occupying a new house, they offer *pūjā* to "Thakurānī" to protect them from the evil influence of the spirits. Of household articles they have very few of indigenous origin. Most of them are purchased from the market.

Village Organisation :—The state of Mayūr-bhanj is divided into four districts. Each district is further subdivided into a number of *maujas*, each of which consists of a group of villages. Over each *mauja* there is a headman called *Padhan* (*Pradhān*) who may be of any tribe or caste. Whatever might have been his relation with the community in bygone days,—*Pradhāns* are now appointed on payment of a cash security which varies according to the amount of assess

ment due from the village. He collects the rent from the tenants and deposits the sum to the *Sirdār* or where, there is no *Sirdār*, directly to the treasury in four instalments (now three). For his service, he receives ten *per cent* of the estimated collection. But if he fails to collect the stipulated sum, he has to pay it from his own pocket. The *Sirdār* who has a number of *Pradhāns* under him also receives ten *per cent* of what remains after the commission of the *Pradhan* has been deducted.

In all cases of the violation of social rules, the *Pradhan* convenes a meeting of the elders who enquire into the dispute, take the necessary evidence and punish the delinquents according to the findings and gravity of the offence committed. Generally a fine is imposed which is spent in the purchase of *hāṇḍiā* (rice-beer) and a goat for a feast. They cannot conceive of the idea of not paying the fine. Cases of theft and murder are brought to the notice of the court. The office of the *pradhan* is not hereditary.

Social Organisation :— The whole *Bhūmija* society is mainly divided into the following endogenous groups: It will be evident that some of these divisions are based on territory and some on occupation.

(1) *Tāmuriyā Bhūmijēs* :—They are supposed to be immigrants from the Tamar Pargana of Chota Nagpur. They occupy the highest place in social precedence.

(2) *Haldipukuri Bhūmijās* :—They also profess

to have come from a village named Haldipukuri. They occupy the second rank in the society.

(3) Telī Bhūmijes:—They belonged to one or other of the class of the Bhūmijes, but have taken to the occupation of the oil presser. Hence they are third in the scale of social precedence.

(4) Desī Bhūmijas or indigenous Bhūmijes. They are also known by the name of Changuā Bhūmijes. They are considered to be the lowest of the Bhūmijes.

To these four some would add,—

(5) Vada Bhuinyās.

(6) Kōl Bhūmijas.

It is a belief among the majority of our informants that Vada Bhuinyās and Kōl Bhūmijes are not Bhūmijes—the former is a section of the Bhuinyās and the latter are Kōls. It may be that the term Kōl Bhūmijes bear testimony to their affinity with the 'Kolarians'.

Each class forms an endogamous group of its own so that a Tāmuriya Bhūmij will not marry a Haldipukuri Bhūmij and *Vice versa*.

Each one of these groups consists of a number of exogamous sub-groups. Thus the Tāmuriyā Bhūmijes of Mayurbhanj (to whom our investigation was mainly confined) have no less than fifteen such subgroups or septs.

1. Hotalvā (a kind of wild flower)
2. Tuṭi (a kind of grass like rice plant)
3. S'ura (a hog)
4. Naga (a serpent)

5. Tarāi (a lotus)
6. Gaḍura (a bird which devours
serpents)
7. Cāndila (a meteor)
8. Marum (a horse)
9. Serāli (a kind of bird)
10. Mahī (the earth)
11. Tesā *
12. Kād Vau
13. Vukru
14. Tlu
15. Lobātu Vukru

It will be seen that the names of the exogamous groups are chosen from diverse sources—representing the fauna, flora, heavenly bodies, earth etc. The members of each group refrain from injuring, and actually respect the thing represented by the name of the group. But there is no such elaborate ritual celebrated in honour of the totems as is noticed among Australian tribes. It may be that the exogamous groups were totemistic, but with the process of time and as they came more and more in touch with their Hindu neighbours the 'ineffective' side of the totemistic system fell off—leaving only the effective side, such as the prohibitive marriage rules.

Besides these, there is a kind of local groupings probably of later growth. They are known as *thaks*. They are named after villages. Each of these '*thaks*' is also exogamous,—so much so, that

* The informants could not enlighten us about the significance of the names of septs from eleven to fifteen.

a member of one 'thak' i. e. of one village shall not marry a member of the same village even if he or she belongs to a different sept.

We have been able to collect the names of twentyfive 'thaks' recognised by the Tāmuriā Bhūmijas of Mayurbhanj.

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Edakiya | 9. Gitivedā | 17. Sarjam |
| 2. Katāvudā | 10. Kanci | 18. Vagvindhā |
| 3. Teruldi | 11. Dulmi | 19. Pātārā |
| 4. Gamāriya | 12. Rela | 20. Ghantu |
| 5. Deuli | 13. Kukuda | 21. Ūrlara |
| 6. Jāmvudā | 14. Heḍā | 22. Hārāt |
| 7. Hāruva | 15. Kedaūri | 23. Kaidi |
| 8. Pela | 16. Jeta | 24. Muḍā |
| 25. Sarham | | |

The first eight of the 'thak' belong to the first eight of the exogamous subgroups known as *Solra* or sept.

Family :— The Bhūmij family consists of the husband, wife and their children. The woman attends to culinary work, looks after the children, keeps the house tidy and helps her husband in his occupation.

Marriage :— Besides the rules of clan endogamy and the sept and *thak* exogamy they observe the rule of prohibited degrees by which one is prevented from marrying within three generations in the descending line in the mother's sept.— Sometimes up to the fifth degree is excluded if the relationship between the families is still maintained.

Marriage is generally adult, though infant marriage is not rare among the wealthier families. They seem not to be very particular about the chastity of the girls before marriage. The girls freely mix with the young men and go to the market place. But if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, her secret lover is bound to marry her or procure a suitable husband for her.

Marriage is settled by the guardians. There is no professional match-maker. One member of the community acts as the middleman. When a young man has to be married, his father or his guardian together with a number of the community goes to the village of the bride's father. If the parties are agreeable, a feast is celebrated, after which the elderly members of the village assemble in one row while the guests from the bridegroom's village in another. Then one of the guests makes three cuts on both sides up to the middle ridge of two *sal* leaves gathered for that purpose—the furthest quadrangular piece representing the head and the remaining four, the fore and hind legs of the bullocks. They are then yoked and a model plough made of sticks is fitted to the yoke. The whole thing, the model bullocks and the plough are handed over to the most respectable person of the bride's party as a symbol of union. It is then returned to one of the bride-groom's party who in his turn finally hands it over to the bride's party.

Then the bride's father or in his absence her

nearest relative prepares a cup of a *Sāl* leaf in which he puts a number of goat's dung which denotes the amount of money he demands as bride price, and, covering it with a *sal* leaf, hands it over to the guardian of the bridegroom. The latter counts them and if he considers the price too high he takes away some of the number and returns the remainder to the former. If he agrees so much so good, but if he does not, he adds a few more to the number to suit the number to his expectation and hands the leaf-cup over to the bridegroom's party. This practice is repeated until both parties come to a settlement. The actual number is then counted and announced to all assembled by a third party. Formerly the brideprice was never above Rs. 6/- but now it varies from Rs. 6/- to Rs. 20/- together with some presents of cloths.

Then the bride's and the bridegroom's father engage into a mock fight which ends in a friendly relation; after which both of them paint their bodies with oil and turmeric and partake of a feast celebrated for that purpose. The bride's father is sometimes entertained at the house of the bridegroom.

There is no fixed duration for the period of betrothal. At any convenient time (it may be a week, a month or a year) after the settlement of marriage the bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house with a priest, a barber and some elderly men of his society and fixes the day of marriage.

On the day previous to that of marriage, the

bridegroom's party which consists of both male and female members of the village, go to the bride's village where they are received by the men and women of the village. A mock quarrel ⁵ ensues which ends in singing and dancing in which males and females of both parties take part. Then the party retire to the bride's house where the bridegroom is received in a square space marked with water mixed with rice powder in the quadrangle. The bride price is given to her father and before a new earthen water jar (with a *Sal* twig in it) a priest of the Bathuri tribe joins the hand of the bridal pair—muttering all the while certain *mantras* or mystic formulas. At the conclusion, the bridegroom takes up vermilion on his left palm and taking a quantity by all the finger tips of the right hand, thrice daubs the forehead of the bride who also repeats the same an equal number of times. If any portion of vermilion is left over the bridegroom smears it on the forehead of his bride. This finishes the ceremony. The bridegroom's father supplies a piece of wedding garment for the bridegroom and one for the bride. The bride's father also makes similar presents.

The marriage may take place either at night or in the morning. After the ceremony, the bridegroom returns home with his newly married wife and his companions. The couple is provided if possible, with a separate hut to live in. In a day or two the bride's parents come there and,

⁵ This leads some to suspect the system of marriage by capture to have once been in practice among them.

if the girl is still a minor, takes her home, but, is of age, they return without her.

After marriage it is very seldom that the bride comes to her father's house. If she likes to see her parents, she comes with her husband and after staying for a day or two returns with her husband.

Besides this regular form of marriage, there is another irregular marriage. If a young man takes fancy for a young girl, but for some reason or other they cannot get married, the young man is always on the look out for the girl and if he happens to get hold of her in a market place or in some other convenient locality, he puts a vermilion mark on her forehead. Subsequently when the whole community come to know of the affair, if the girl and her parents are agreeable, a maimed rite, called *Sāṅgā* is performed. But if the girl is unwilling, she does not suffer any social obloquy and may be married in a regular way to another young man.

Widows are allowed to marry according to the *Saṅga* form in which all the ceremonies of a regular marriage are not performed.

Polygamy is sometimes indulged in by the wealthier families, the barrenness of the first wife being the main reason. Polyandry is unknown.

The custom of marriage between the children of brothers and sisters, commonly known as cross-cousin marriage, was at one time in practice among them; but under the influence

of Hinduism they now look upon it with disfavour and disown all such practice to have ever been in vogue among them. Thus the Bhumijās of Porāostīā, a village about three miles from the Sadar town of Bāripādā, do not marry cross-cousins, while their brethren of village Partāppur, about seventeen miles from Porāostīā and fourteen miles from Bāripādā have still retained the practice and not a few of their marriages are between cross-cousins.

The practice of the junior levirate or the custom of marrying the deceased husband's younger brother, is in vogue and if a widow refuses to marry him, she or her parents have to return the brideprice originally received and she loses all claims to maintenance and the custody of the children she might have by her former husband.

The husband can divorce his wife only in extreme cases of adultery. In this matter the decision of the council of elders is final. The females are deprived of this privilege.

Adultery with a member of the tribe is generally condoned with a fine but with a member of another tribe results in outcasting. They follow inheritance in the male line, the eldest son receiving something in excess. If a man dies without a male issue his daughters inherit equally and in the absence of both the widow gets a life interest.

Funeral :—They cremate their dead bodies for which they receive fuel free from the State forest. But the dead bodies of those who are below twelve years of age, if unmarried, are

buried. The dead bodies of those who die of Cholera or small-pox are buried. When a pregnant woman dies the embryo is taken out through an incision in the abdomen. The incision is then stitched together. They are then buried underneath the shade of a *mehua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*) and when there is no suitable site a branch of that tree is planted near the head of the embryo—the idea being that it will live on the juice of that tree.

After death the body is brought out of the house and placed in the courtyard with the head to the south. Its hands are taken together and a measure of paddy is placed in its hands and taken back by his son or in his absence, the nearest relative. This is repeated thrice with the prayer—‘Thou art going away—thou givest me thy belongings’,—the idea being that the dead man would not take the children with him and no misfortune in the family might take place hereafter.

Before cremation the body is rubbed with oil and turmeric and a pice is put into the mouth of the dead as its passage money to the other world. It is then placed on the pyre full flat—head to the south. The son or in his absence the nearest relative walks round the pyre thrice in anti clock wise direction with a lighted torch in hand and finally puts it into the mouth of the corpse. After the body is reduced to ashes, the women quench the ashes with water brought for that purpose.

Then a conventional human figurine is drawn and before it *Khichuri* (rice and *dāl* boiled together) is offered in lumps on three *Sal* leaves by any male member of the bereaved family. Then the party bathe and are sanctified with water into which Tulsi ⁶ leaves (*Ocimum Sanctum*) have been dipped, take some *neem* (*Melia*) leaves and return home.

All the members of the family of the deceased and his relatives are considered unclean for nine days. On the tenth day, they go to the nearest stream with a so-called Brahman of their own tribe, a barber and a washerman. The head of the person who kindled the pyre is shaved. The son puts on a new piece of cloth. "Khichuri" is offered in three *Sal* leaves as before. Then they return home where a feast is provided in which hens, goats, and *handiya* are consumed as much as they can afford to spend.

They do not observe any annual *srādha* ceremony except that on the occasion of the *sarhul* festival.

Magico-religious Beliefs :— They believe in ghosts and similar other powers of darkness which haunt vales and dales, trees and mountains and are ready to pounce upon any and every one when opportunity arises. They do not make any image of their gods.

Their belief in ghosts is manifested in the worship of the following spirits :

⁶ This seems to be borrowed from their Hindu neighbours.

(a) *Varam Bhūt*— who haunts trees and mountains near human habitations. If any young woman happens to pass by him either in the morning or noon or night which is considered to be his hours of activity, he takes possession of her, follows her to her residence and has sexual relations with her. As a result of this she becomes barren for all time to come.

To get rid of this evil spirit, they perform the following magical practice. On some Sunday or Saturday morning her body is painted with turmeric and oil, and she is clad in the filthiest and the most tattered cloth. She is then taken to a place where two roads meet. The magician draws a conventional figure of a man on the ground intended to represent a spirit named Putura whom he worships with resin, red or white flowers and a hen whose neck is torn asunder by pulling it with a tuist; the water is then poured over woman's head and she is made to give up her old cloth and the string which she had round her waist and put on a new cloth. Then she returns home direct without looking back. Thus is she exorcised.

If any body happens to cross the drawing and the offerings before sunrise, the spirit will at once seize him. If the unlucky person be a female, she shall share the same fate; if male it means a slow death for him.

(b) *Kudra* ⁷ (1) the wife of Varam, is a

⁷ (1) Risley considers Kudra together with Bisaychandi as malignant ghosts of cannibalistic propensities, whom the *laya* propitiates in the interests of the community of *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1892. vol. I. p. 124.

harmless spirit. So they do not think it worth while to propitiate her as they do not apprehend any harm from her.

(c) All cases of Small-pox, Cholera, cattle diseases such as sores on hoofs and inflammation of the throat, sudden death, miscarriages, child-death etc. are attributed to the working of some evil spirits who have somehow entered the village. To get rid of them, they collect from every family a number of broken baskets, used up cooking pots, and old worn out broom sticks. These things together with a black hen and an egg are taken in a procession in which the magician takes the lead to a place outside the village boundary. Some of the things are hung up on a tree and others are placed at the foot while the hen is let loose and the egg broken. Then they retrace their steps without turning back. The idea most probably is that the evil spirits are associated with filthy things and by throwing them outside the village they turn out the evil spirit associated with them.

Festivals.—The Bhumij are agriculturists: most of their festivals are connected directly or indirectly with agriculture.

(1) In the morning of the second ^s of Magh (Jan.-Feb.) they paint their plough and yoke with vermilion and rice-powder dye, paint the horns

^s According to the Bengal calendar it falls on the 1st of Magh. The Bhumij consider the last day of the month as the first day of the succeeding month. Thus the last of *Paus* is the 1st of *Magh* according to the Bhumija. Hence the difference is noticed.

of the bullocks with vermilion, and plough a field making three circles. This is called *halcar* or the commencement of ploughing. None shall plough before he has celebrated this festival.

(2) On a Tuesday evening in the month of Vais'akh (April-May) the courtyard is painted with decorative designs of dots of rice powder lotion. They place a plank of wood in the courtyard on which they keep a quantity of rice to be sown. The eldest member of the family presides over the ceremony taking his seat to the west of the plank and facing east. A hen is sacrificed. They are not allowed to sow before they have celebrated this festival.

(3) On any morning in the month of As'ar (July-August), when the rice plants have grown to the height of about nine or ten inches, they celebrate a festival. They take a hen of any colour, rice, milk, sweets, flowers, and resin to the shrine of the village deity Thakurāṇi in the village of Sindur Gauḍa in Khanuapida. The *dehuri* (priest) of the Bathuri tribe presides over the ceremony. The hen is let loose and when she pecks up the grains of rice scattered for the purpose, she is sacrificed. If it so happens that the hen does not eat the rice grains, another is brought for the purpose. Then a he-goat of red colour is sacrificed. The head and a portion of the flesh go to the priest. After this they are allowed to plough the paddy field. It is called *Vihirā*—the custom of ploughing the field when the plants have grown to a certain height.

If worms destroy the plants, they take a branch of a *Palāsa* (*Butea frondosa*), plant it on some elevated site in the field on some Saturday or Sunday morning. As the leaves fall off and decompose, the worms die out.

If insects destroy the paddy crop they take to the following practice. In the early morning of any Saturday or Sunday, before washing their faces, they take a branch of a *Kuchila* (*strychnos Nux-vomica*) tree and plant it in the field. It is kept there for two days and a half and then it is taken away,— for if it is allowed to be planted there for a longer period, the whole crop will get a pungent taste.

(4) If rains fail, they worship the village deity as in (3)

(5) When the paddy is ripe for harvesting in Agrahāyan (November-December), the *dehuri* cuts a handful of crop from every field and pounds it and with it worships the village deity in the same manner as in (3)

(6) *Vadhna Parab*—At about 10 A. M. on the day of the new moon in the month of Kartik (Oct-November) they celebrate a festival called Vadhna. A post symbolical of the great god Mahādeva ⁹ is planted at one end of the courtyard at the opposite end of which are tied the cattle. The head of the family worships Mahādeva with milk, ghee, sweets, and flowers. A hen is sacrificed. Feasting and dancing

⁹ They might have borrowed the name Mahadeva from their Hindu neighbours and substituted it for their national name for the Deity—Sing Bonga (Great God),

continue for three days and nights when cups of *handiya* go merily round.

(7) The festival of *Makar* falls on the 1st. day of the month of Magh (January-February) which, according to the Bengali calender, is the last day of Paus. No specific *pūjā* is celebrated on this occasion. They simply sing, dance and make themselves merry. This is also an instance of their imitating Hindu names.

(8) The *Sarhul* festival comes on the day of full moon in the month of Phalgun (Jan.-Feb.) It corresponds to the Holi festival so universally prevalent all over India. The essential feature of this festival is that it is only on this occasion that they make offerings to their dead ancestors. They gather *Sal* flowers and place them in the north-east corner of the house. The head of the family presides over the ceremony. In the morning he makes offerings to his dead ancestors. A hen is sacrificed—the flesh of which is cooked. Then at nightfall, another *pūjā* is made when rice and the cooked flesh are offered.

Amusements :— They take part in all sorts of national festivities. They amuse themselves with dancing. Of dances they have many varieties. Most of them signify a prayer to the Mother-goddess to give a luxuriant harvest. They sometimes go out hunting with bows and arrows and spears.

From the foregoing sketch of the life-history of one of the primitive tribes of Mayurbanj, it is evident how they are adopting Hindu manners and

customs and are always on the look out for giving their indigenous customs a Hindu colouring. It is the patient and systematic endeavour of an enquirer which can detect how much they have borrowed and how much of their original customs still survives. All these customs are fast dying out and unless prompt action is taken to study them, they will be lost for ever.

II. TALIKETTU KALYANAM— ITS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE.

By M. D. RAGHAVAN, B. A., R. A. S., F. R., A. I.

Among the most peculiar of the customs in Malabar is what is called, the Talikettu Kalyanam or as its name signifies, *kalyanam* or marriage by tying the *tali*, a ceremony common to all Marumakkattayam Hindus of Malabar, which every girl has to undergo before she attains puberty. The *tali* consists of a small flat gold ornament with a gold bead on either side, the whole strung on a string. Opinions differ as to whether it is a real marriage sacrament as among the Hindus generally in South India or whether it is a mere caste rite, without any special significance. However much it may be described as a meaningless ceremony which it undoubtedly is at the present day, it has been an institution almost universal over the whole of Kerala particularly among the Nairs and the Tiyars, and a study of its origin is of undoubted interest. The vast amount of evidence collected by the Malabar Marriage Commission 1891, has not helped towards a real solution of the problem, for the witnesses invariably based their views on what they saw around them, as in fact all who have expressed any opinion about it so far have done, without attempting any investigation as to its origin or significance. As observed by the Commissioners in their report, the majority of the witnesses described the Talikettu Kalyanam as a fictitious marriage, the origin and

meaning of which they could not explain.¹ The task of exploration is far from easy. In trying to understand the significance of the ceremony, it is obvious that we have first to examine what evidence the ceremony as now practised affords. On such a scrutiny, the first thing that strikes one is the *Brahmini pattu* or the songs that a Brahmini sings in well-to-do families by way of blessing the couple. Brahmini does not mean a Brahmin woman but only a woman of the Namisan caste. The idea was that these songs were to be recited in Rig Veda *swaram* or voice in which the Rig Veda is recited. The compromise was apparently made to obviate the Sudras reciting the Vedas which the Brahmans only could utter. Though these songs are getting obsolete they are of value as they throw much light on the significance of the ceremony.

A few of the typical verses are extracted below :—

Mūsāri vāṛtitoru nilavi-	Lighting the brass lamp
lakkum kolutti vechchu,	moulded by the brassmith,
Chāliyanār nuṛṭtoru ven-	The white and red threads
nulum chennulum,	spun by the weaver,
Udan kalannu veda	The Brahmini twisted into
Brahmini pirichitoru	cords,
charatitanna,	
Muppiripāyi pirichukonḍu	And bound them as armlet
kanniyāḍa valankeimēl,	on the right hand of the
	virgin.
Kappōṭan kettīyatu ikkuṭ-	May the thread be they
ṭikku vilakkayirikka.	constant light.

¹ Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, p. 18.

Nūṛṇḍum vāpīri kanniyē, And mayst thou live a
nedumaṇṇalyam ninik- hundred years in the
kennu, enjoyment of married life.

Bhartavum putramoksha- Mayst thou live with thy
vum ninakkayittiri kanni, husband blessed with
children.

Nellenni putraṇḍaka Mayst thou have children as
arienni ayissuṇḍaka, numerous as paddy count-
ed and life for years as
numerous as rice counted.

(2)

Āṛu māsam mumbē pandal The pandal has been six
papi tudanpi, months in building.

Arabharattinnu perum- And the kettle drums
paṛayum takki, announce the wedding.

Uttupura urakkapandal In the pandal there is place
uṇṇum pandal, for feasting and a bed
chamber.

Tēn moṛiyayaval kaṛuttīl The beautiful maiden gar-
malayittāl, lands the husband.

Malayittu bhartāvum And garlanding they
bharyayumayi. became husband and wife.

Avaraviṭe sukhichchirunnu And as they lived there
vasichapōle. happy,

Ivariviṭe sukhichirikkum So let these live here long
pala nālekkum. in the enjoyment of
happiness.

The verses undoubtedly signify the idea of the union of the bride and bridegroom, and a happy married life.

2. Turning now to the details of the ceremony we find that even at this distance of time they are intimately related to the real marriage ceremony, with which it must have been identified in its earlier days :— The casting of the horoscope of the girl and the boy chosen to play the part of the bridegroom, the fixing of an auspicious day for the ceremony, the *ashtamangaliyam vekkal* or the placing of the eight articles symbolical of *mangaliyam* or marriage (such as rice, paddy, tender leaves of the cocoanut, an arrow, a looking glass, a well-washed cloth, burning fire and the round wooden box or *cheppu*) ; the bridegroom's investing the bride with the *tali* or the marriage badge, the presentation of new cloth, the formalities indicative of wife's duties, such as cooking food, grinding curry stuff, giving the bridegroom betel to chew and water to wash his feet, eating together from the same leaf, even sleeping in the same chamber, going to water the supposed jasmine plant,—all these are so patently marriage ceremonies that they leave no ground for doubt that by origin and significance, *taliketttu kalyanam* was the real marriage ceremony of old. On the fourth day the bridegroom severs his connection with the girl by cutting into two the cloth she wore. As recorded by the Malabar Marriage Commission, notwithstanding this divorce the South Malabar custom obliges the girl to observe pollution when her bridegroom dies, and the Nambur divies regard her as a widow for some purposes. ² The

² Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, 1891, page 18.

ceremony has always been performed with all the customary observances which endure to the present day, such as the sacred *nilavilakku* and *niranazhi*, or the fully lit lamp and a measure of rice full to overflowing; and was fully performed with the sanction and in the presence of the parents and the maternal uncle of the contracting parties and the elders of the community, of whom each and everyone by turn sprinkles rice on the seated couple by way of benediction. Care is taken to throw rice first on the burning light, which is done as an offering to the fire and is a mild, but nonetheless an essential, representation of the *hamam* or sacrifice to the fire, which is a prolonged affair and enters so largely into the ceremonies of a Brahman marriage. *Talikeṭṭu* has thus in it every feature of a marriage ceremony, which it has retained through all ages. Having considered the internal evidence that the ceremony presents to us, we have a mass of other contemporary evidence available which may be classed as external. In the forefront of these we have the invaluable traditions of the country as treasured in folk-lore, which nobody has yet estimated at their real worth. In these we find abundant instances of *talikeṭṭu kalyānam* having been in its earlier days the real ceremony of marriage. Specific instances of this in regard to the ceremony that obtained among the Tiyars are afforded in the song recounting the exploits of Valia Aramar Chekavar one of the greatest of the heroes of old. In entrusting his only sister to the guardianship of

his brother before proceeding to his last fight, he observes :—

Namukkū me onnallō We have an only sister;
nērpenṇalum

Anchu vayassilum kātum At five years old, were
kutti her ears bored,

Eṇu vayassil eṇuttinākki And at seven, put to school,
Eṇuttum payaṇṇum patich- Was educated and trained
chavale in fencing exercises ;

Eṭṭu vayassil muḍiyumkeṭṭi Her hair was tied at eight
years.

Vidayakalokke tikaṇṇa- Thus was her education
valke completed,

Āṇṇum maṇammele Kuññi When Kunhi Raman of
Raman Āṇṇum maṇamel

Pattu vayassil kulicchchu Married her in her tenth
keṭṭi year

Nedumaṇṇgalayam Tying the *tali* or *mangalya*
vechchu koṇḍupōyi *Sutram*, and took her
away.

In the same song, speaking of his own wife Aromar states that he married Alatturviṭṭil Kunjannūli, the only daughter of Alattūrappen, in her seventh year.

Nenmūrṭtam koṇḍu kuli- Tying the *tali* at the
chchukeṭṭi auspicious moment.

Keṭṭiya pandalil koṇḍu- And forthwith took her
pōnnu away with me.

It impossible to be more specific or to express the idea more clearly, which sets all doubt at rest as to the origin or significance of the ceremony.

It must therefore have been nothing more nor less than what the words literally mean, viz., marriage by tying the *tāli*, the tying having been customarily done by the bridegroom himself. From internal and other historical evidence available, the date of the song may be fixed at between the 12th and 13th centuries, not later than the first half of the thirteenth century. The song presents a very clear picture of the social customs and manners in vogue in Malabar at the time, specially among the Tiyars. Songs belonging to a later date also tell us almost the same story in a different form about the Nayar society and their social customs giving us at the same time an insight into the gradual evolution towards the state of affairs, that puzzles us so much at present. Kāvilachāttottu Madaiaamma is described in a popular song as proceeding at the approach of the *ṭalikeṭṭu* ceremony of her daughter Chiru to Koma Kurup, Tacholi Odenan's elder brother, Odenan having been found on an examination of the girl's horoscope, to be the proper person to tie her the *tāli* and remain her husband.

Tachōli Kōma Kuruppē Oh ! Koma Kurup,
yinnu

Enṛre makal kuṇṇi Chiru	My daughter Kunhi
vinnu	Chiru's

Maṇṇakkuli kalyāṇam	<i>Ṭalikeṭṭu Kalyāṇam</i> is at
kollavēṇam	hand,

Maṇṇakkuli kalyāṇam	At the auspicious moment
kollunnēram	

Kuruppinṛe kayyal Odenan's hand has been
poruttam kaṇḍu. found to be the most
suitable to tie the *ṭali*.

Odenan's positive refusal to perform the function despite pressure from Koma Kurup, on the score of the girl not being sufficiently pretty to induce him to espouse her, and the mother's utter discomfiture in failing to secure him, unmistakably show that *ṭaliketṭu* was really intended to be the actual ceremony of marriage.

The date of this song centres round the date when Tachōli Odenan flourished. Though his date has not yet been determined, from contemporary evidence available we can place him in the latter half of the 17th century. During the long period of time that Malabar passed between the earlier and later songs referred to, its social customs underwent great changes. This was a period of transition which while it shows the evolution towards the modern state, also demonstrates the significance of the social institutions of the past and their hold on the people. In the 17th century it was still the real ceremony of marriage, at which the chosen bridegroom invested the girl with the *ṭali* and continued to be her husband and protector throughout life, without a further marriage ceremony, and the ceremony was anything but a mere formal or sham one that we now find it to be. As pointed out by Lewis Moore, it is remarkable that, while the *Ṭali-Ketṭu kalyanam* is mentioned by the early European writers such as de Castanheda and Buchanan, no allusion

to anything corresponding with the *Sambandham* is to be found in any of these works. ³

While *ṭalikeṭṭu* thus formed such an essential feature of marriage among the Nairs as late as the 17th century, it needs no effort to imagine how much more so it must have been in still earlier days. Such instances may easily be multiplied, but the three extracted above will suffice to establish the fact of *ṭalikeṭṭu kalyānam* having been by origin the essential marriage rite. It thus stands revealed by origin and significance to have been as binding a marriage sacrament as it now is among the other Hindus in South India. To say that the essential elements of a Brahmanical marriage are not to be found among its details, as remarked by Sir T. Muttuswami Iyer, the President of the Malabar Marriage Commission, 1891, and that therefore it cannot be considered as constituting a marriage sacrament, is obviously unreasonable. There is no reason to imagine that Malabar alone presented a different picture from the rest of the province, and even in Malabar only among certain sections, for the artisan cases still have the *ṭalikeṭṭu* on the marriage occasion. The form the ceremony has assumed in modern times has led many an onlooker to weave fanciful theories and to make analogies that serve no purpose, and carry us no further in a real study of the subject. The ceremony has by some been compared to what a Devadāi of the East Coast undergoes before she begins her profession, while

³ *Malabar Law and Custom*. Lewis Moore, p. 78.

Mr. Fawcett considers it to be analogous to that obtaining in the Bellary District through which women called Basavis, are after an initiatory ceremony of devotion to a deity compelled to follow no chastity, but whose children are under no degradation. ⁴ It is futile to draw such analogies, disregarding the origin and significance of the ceremony, however much one may feel justified in making them from the present state of affairs. No analogy is really called for, considering that the custom of tying the *ṭali* at weddings is one prevailing over the whole of South India, and it was as much a token of marriage in Malabar as it is elsewhere at present.

3. As already observed the later folk-songs indicate the course of evolution to the present state of affairs tending to the separation of *ṭalikeṭṭu kalyānam* from marriage proper. As to when causes contributed to the degeneration of the ceremony into a meaningless and costly show dissociated and disconnected from marriage is not however easy of solution. On the one hand it is stated that the state of Nair society which subjected the whole community to military service from the earliest youth led to the laxity of matrimonial institutions in the early days, which in turn gave rise to polyandry, and that the *ṭalikeṭṭu* was only a cloak to give every girl a semblance of a marriage sacrament, which again led to the system of descent through women. This view, though plausible, is at the same time the most superficial,

⁴ Madras Govt. Museum, Bulletin, Vol. III. No. 3. Nayers of Malabar. p. 231.

and ignores the fact that the matrilineal system of descent has been a very widely prevalent institution over various parts of the globe where there is no trace of polyandry, and that countries which now possess father right show traces of having passed through mother right, which is founded on the idea of common blood which all within the kin possess. Ignorant as they were of the general course of evolution of the laws of descent, it is not surprising that foreign visitors have been overready to assert without sufficient reason that the *Marumakkattayam* system had its origin in polyandry, apart from the question whether polyandry as is now implied by the word ever existed in Malabar. There is no ground therefore to justify the implication that the system of descent in the female line has originated from promiscuous polyandry. Indeed the true significance of the *ṭalikeṭṭu* ceremony, precludes all attempts at its explanation by trying to connect it in any manner with any possible existence of polyandry.

4. The beginnings of the *ṭalikeṭṭu* as a separate and as a mere formal ceremony unconnected with marriage must therefore be sought for elsewhere. Several persons have expressed the view that the ceremony is one of purely Brāhman origin or that it was introduced by the Brāhmins. We accordingly find it stated in Moore's *Malabar Law and Customs* that the *ṭalikeṭṭu kalyānam* introduced in all probability, by the Brāhmins made matters much worse by giving a quasi-

religious sanction to a fictitious marriage which bears an unpleasant resemblance to the sham marriage ceremonies performed among certain inferior castes elsewhere as a cloak for prostitution. ⁵ The President of the Malabar Marriage Commission in his Memorandum similarly observes that having regard to the fact that several of its details bear a resemblance to a portion of the marriage ritual among the *Nambudiri* Brāhmans, it is not unlikely that they introduced the ceremony among the Nairs as a caste rite. Mr. Wintorbotham, the European member of the Commission also gave expression to the same view, remarking that the Brāhman *ṭali-tier* was a relic of the time when the earth-gods were entitled to the first fruits, when it was considered the high privilege of every Sudra maid to be introduced by them to womanhood. To lend verisimilitude to this theory, capital was made of the fact that the woman singing songs at the ceremony is called a Brāhmaṇi. Commenting on the name of Brāhmaṇi, though she is not of the Brāhman caste, the Report observes that possibly by a fiction she is imagined to represent the female relatives of the Brāhman bridegroom, who would otherwise be conspicuous by their absence, adding that it is not easy to account for her title of Brāhmaṇi in any other way. It is remarkable and not a little surprising that the more probable and authentic origin of the Brāhmaṇi' as given in Govinde Pillai's *History*

* *Malabar Law and Custom.* Lewis Moore, p. 87.

of *Malabar Literature*, a second edition of which was published in 1889, did not come to the notice of the Commission.⁶ According to it, a Brāhmaṇ woman having conceived while *rajaswalā*, or in her menses, lost her caste and her issues gave rise to a separate community of Antchavasis. To them was assigned the work of collecting flowers and making garlands for the deity. Their female descendants came to be known as Brāhmaṇis, a name which betokens their Brāhmaṇ origin. To them were assigned the duty of singing surgs at Bhagavat temples, and at *Kalyānam* ceremonies of the S'udras. The songs they sing are known as Brāhmaṇi *pattra*.

This view is also untenable in the light of the evidence already adduced of the ceremony having been not a mere formal caste rite that it is at present, but the essential and integral part of marriage from very early days among all castes, as it now is elsewhere in South India. Among the *Nambudiri* Brāhmaṇs, the *ṭali* is curiously enough tied by the father during the course of the marriage ceremonies. If the ceremony among the Nairs and Tiyars had been one of *Nambudiri* origin the chances were that this practice would have been copied, instead of their improving on their masters and the bridegroom himself tying the *ṭali*, the shadow of which continues to the present day. The statement that the *Nambudiri* Brāhmaṇs introduced the ceremony among the Nairs as a caste rite is however literally true in a different

⁶ *Marriage Commission Report*. President's Memorandum. p. 5.

sense,—in the sense that they were mainly responsible for the gradual transformation of the ceremony from an essential marriage rite to the mere caste rite that it is to-day. The social institution of the *Nambudiris* permitted one member alone of a family to marry, and by preference only the eldest brother married within the caste, while the others formed alliances with Nair women. As the author of "*Malabar Law and Custom*" observes, there are no grounds for supposing that the *Nambudiris* when they originally entered Malabar had already adopted the system under which the elder member of the family alone contracts a legal marriage while the others enter into concubinage with Nair females.⁷ The custom has no doubt grown up later from a desire to keep family property intact and the heavy dowry which has to be paid on the marriage of a daughter, the wife joining her husband's *gōtram* forsaking her own. To facilitate alliances with Nair women it was necessary to divest the union of the true character of marriage which the *ṭali* symbolised. This was easily accomplished with the supreme power that the *Nambudiri* wielded both as the lord of the soil and as the supreme sacerdotal authority and exponent of religion. The Nairs soon submitted their women to the embraces of the *Nambudiris*, and as the sanctity of marriage was inconsistent with such concubinage, *ṭaliketttu* was easily dispensed with as a marriage rite and relegated to the position of a mere caste formality

⁷ *Malabar Law and Custom*. Lawis Moore, p. 61. foot note (b).

with no significance in relation to marriage. Only in this sense can we consider *taliketṭu kalyānam* as a relic of the times when the *Nambudiris* were entitled to the "first fruits", not in the sense that they originated it, but in the sense that they saw to its degradation into a mere caste rite. The vernacular treatises of *Keralā Mahātmyam* and *Keralolpati* which are now recognised to be concoctions by *Nambudiri* Brahmins, dating not earlier than the 18th century, embody the false and pernicious doctrines as to the obligations laid on the Nairs by divine law to administer to the lust of the *Nambudiris*, and are ordinarily cited by the *Nambudiri* as the authorities for the practice. Once the ceremony has been degraded into a formal and unmeaning institution it soon became the practice to perform *taliketṭu* on all the girls of a householder which was never the practice in early days, purely as a measure of economy. Beginning with the Nairs, the change unavoidably spread to, and were adopted by, the *Tiyars* amidst whom they lived, and among whom also it has been customarily observed as a mere caste formality, though as recorded by Sir T. Muttuswami Iyer in 1891, according to the reformed practice, it is the intended husband's sister and in some cases the intended husband himself that ties the *tali*. s *

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* *Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission*. Memorandum by the President. p. 5.

* Read at the annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress, 1929.

III. ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORSHIP OF SASTA.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M. A., M. R. A. S.

The worship of Sasta is confined to the extreme south of India,—Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar. According to Keralolpathi, Parasu Rama is said to have established several temples, dedicated to Sasta, along the *Ghats* with a view to guard the newly created country. The most prominent of them are those at Sabarimala, Achencoil, Kulathupuzha and Arienkavu. All these are situated on the hills, while the one at Thagazhi is about four miles from the sea. The most prominent of them is the Sabarimala Pagoda, standing on an eminence 2,000 ft. above the sea level, in the Ranni Reserve of the Manimala Range of Travancore. It is built on an elevated mound, faced with stone, and access to the gate on the east is gained by a flight of 18 steps, and only devotees can pass by it during the annual festival, *Makara vilakka*.

The origin of Sasta is one of the romances of Hindu mythology. Sasta was born of the embrace of Siva and Vishnu in the guise of a bewitching damsel as he appeared before the Asuras. He is therefore known as Hariharasutam (हरिहर सुतम्). He was told he should remain in the jungle, that the Pandyan Raja would take him, and that he should remain under his care for twelve years.

Sasta passed twelve years under the tutelage of the Pandyan Raja, after which he marched to

the hills, where he killed Mahishasuri. This was his mission. Agastya is said to have made him stay at Sabarimala and there he remains to this day. The Makaravilaka is an annual festival celebrated in his honour at Sabarimala on the 13th of January for five days. The intensity of pilgrim traffic on the occasion was unexampled in 1929. Modest reckoning estimates the number at 40,000. Despite the rigours of the journey, it is a pleasing feature of the times that the ranks of the Ayappens are reinforced by the influx of cultured men. Their enthusiasm is not chilled by the discipline enforced on them and the ordeal of the journey.

Discipline.—Sasta is very frigid in his tastes, and he is a stern disciplinarian. A person can qualify himself as a votary by being under a vow for 41 days from the 1st of Brichigom (Kartika). A man should lead a clean life and avoid sexual intercourse with women. He should avoid meat and drink; but drink is not tabooed in the case of Malayarayans (a hill tribe). A woman is also bound by the same injunctions. Only girls and old women are allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Sabarimala. Women in their family way are also not debarred. A person who breaks her vow jeopardises the result that is being striven for. Health, wealth, and life are to be gained by a rigid observance of the vow. The abstinence from meat is meant to avoid imbibing undesirable qualities with which a person would otherwise be infected. Again, the restraint imposed on the stronger impulses of man's animal nature marks out those who

are above the common herd and who are fit to receive the seal of divine approbation. The net result of this disciplinary life is seen in an accession of strength and grit to the votaries, who are enabled to bear the tedium of the journey with greater ease.

Discipline permeates in another way among the rank and file of the votaries, who go in batches, led by the most senior man. Seniority is reckoned by the largest number of times a votary has gone to Sabarimala. All votaries are called Ayyappans or Swamis, and the head of the fraternity is called Periaswami, whose word is law. The first Kanni Ayyappans (initiates) cannot move an inch without the Periaswamy's bidding, and without being led by a second Kanni Ayyappen, whose function is to lead the initiates. Any disobedience is visited with fine or repeating Sasta's name a certain number of times. The fraternity of Ayyappens is not hide-bound by any caste distinction and their fraternal greetings are worthy of emulation. Periaswamis of the present day are mere shadows of their former selves owing to diminishing return of reverence and confidence in them.

Vocabulary of Ayyappens:—The vocabulary of Ayyappens is polished and dignified. Abusive language is tabooed. One who offends another by word or deed is said to incur the wrath of Sasta. In fact, the word Ayyappen is used after every word. The word has degenerated so far that excreta is known as Pu Ayyappen. There is

complete self-effacement, and votaries consider that Sasta is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent. Imbued with such lofty ideas, they march to the hills.

Kettumurukku.— It has to be said to the credit of the Ayyappen that he stands in no terms of indebtedness to others during his march to the hills. He is self-contained and there is a ceremony called *Kettumwikkku* or tying up the load. The *Kettu* consists of three pockets. The front one is loaded with gifts to be offered to Sasta (raw rice, cocoanut with ghee, camphor etc). The back pocket contains rice, condiments and other articles of food. The middle pocket contains vessels, spoon, etc. to complete the kit. With this *Kettu* over his head he marches to *Erumoh*.

Pettathullal—This quaint custom is reminiscent of Sasta's hunting expedition and return with spoils of the chase after killing Mahishasuri. The votaries blacken their faces and bodies. Plantains and other curry-stuffs are tied in a blanket, and slung on their shoulders. The first *Kanni Ayyappen* is armed with an arrow, and the second with a club. With the loads on their shoulders, they run towards *Petta*, Sasta's temple, where they worship the deity. They then worship *Vavar* to whom offerings in cash are made. The blackening of the face is emblematical of the original inhabitants of the forests who accompanied Sasta. The worship of *Vavar* indicates the early association of a Mahomedan saint with

Sasta, the tolerance and discrimination exercised in the choice of associates, and worship by all Hindu devotees without any caste distinction, thus furnishing a fine example to all lovers of Hindu-Moslem unity. Opinion is sharply divided on this point, and the writer proposes to go into this tangled problem more fully in a separate paper.

Worship of stones and rocks.— On reaching Peruthode, the votaries offer fried rice and molasses to the rocks on the bed of the stream. They are supposed to be the resting-place of Sasta and his followers. Another custom is the worship of all stones on the way from Kottapadi to Sabarimala. The second Kanni Ayappen plucks leaves for the 1st Kanni to make offerings to the stones in which are supposed to reside Sasta and other sylvan deities. The average middle class Hindu worships stones which are unusual or grotesque in shape. A steep mountain is supposed to have a special local spirit who acts as guardian. The natural object is worshipped because it is believed to possess supernatural power, but it is nevertheless the object itself that is worshipped. In other words, they do not separate the spirit from matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

On reaching the Azhutha river, they camp there for the night. The river is worshipped as a deity, which fills their imagination and receives their homage. The next morning they march to Kallidumkunnu, where the Kanni Ayappens

throw a pebble on the crest of the hill. This is intended to suppress an Asura, who is said to haunt there.

A word may be said of Perraswamis. Some of them are found to be inspired. The inspiration is only temporary, and may last from a few minutes to a day or two. Its usual manifestations are divination and prophecy while the possession lasts, their own personality being in the background. Inspiration manifests itself in convulsive shiverings of a man's whole body, wild gestures, and excited looks all of which are referred to the deity in him. The greatest attention is paid to his expressions and whole deportment. Perraswamis do not command so much reverence and respect as they used to formerly, but small minds cannot conceive great ideas.

No worship is done for worship's sake. So it is with Ayyappens who are not so irrational as to make offerings to beings from whom they expect no benefit in return. In proportion as Sasta grows more benignant, his worshippers have become more confident. He bestows benefits on those who please him. The common desire is to avert evils. Sasta blesses those who are childless. His boons on his devotees are phenomenal and they enlarge the circle of his votaries.

IV. THE KALARI—AND THE ANGAM— INSTITUTIONS OF ANCIENT KERALA.

BY M. D. RAGHAVAN, B. A., M. R. A. S., F. R. A. I.

The most distinctive of the institutions of Kerala in the past and one that best reflects the spirit of the people, was the Kalari. It was at once a place of religious worship and an academy or gymnasium for physical culture and fencing practices. Every *desam* had its own Kalari which existed for the benefit of the whole *desam*, as the training ground for the youth of the locality. In modern times the Kalari is almost extinct, except for certain feeble attempts at its resuscitation, by a few who cherish its memory. In common with all ancient institutions of Kerala, the origin of the Kalari is ascribed to Parasu Rama, the legendary founder of Kerala, who wielded the miraculous axe, and it is stated that he established Kalaries throughout the land.

2. Published accounts of the Kalari are few. Except for a short description in Padmanabha Menon's *History of Kerala*, and casual references in books on Malabar topics, no account of it, sufficiently descriptive, seems to exist. Mr. Fawcett gives an account of the principal instruments and weapons used, in his "Nayars of Malabar", published as vol. III, No. 3 of the Government Museum Bulletin.

3. Kalaries in Malabar may generally be classified as belonging to two types. *Abhyasa Kalari* or *Porkalari* devoted to the more advanced

forms of physical culture, the use of weapons and training in martial exercises generally. The second called, the *Kolkalari* or *paricha kalari*, popularly known as *palisa kalari*, a form which the *kalari* has assumed in comparatively recent times, and existing solely for purposes of recreation and display, giving exhibitions of stick or sword and shield play, so often seen accompanying processions and festive occasions. Corresponding to the latter, are the *kalaris* which the Moplas of North Malabar own, where boys are trained in somersaulting feats, stick and shield plays.

4. The description here attempted is of the first type, the *porkalari*. In structure it is rectangular, and is hollowed out of the ground, 42 feet long, 15 feet broad and about 6 feet deep from ground level. The conventional length of 42 feet has given it the name of *nalppattirattistanam*. It is thatched and covered all over with cadjan leaves and faces the east, where on the right side a broad opening is left as the entrance. All who enter it, do so by placing the right foot first as is customary in entering *Devasthanams* or temples. The floor of the pit which is evenly rammed and smoothened with cowdung dissolved in water, is reached by steps leading to it. At the south-west corner is the place sacred to the *kalari devata* or Bhagavati, the presiding deity. This place is called *Pittara*. It is so called because of the offerings of flowers and *tulasi* leaves, in worship of the deity, and is formed of a flight of semicircular steps narrowing towards the top. The practices at the *kalari* are

begun with worship to the presiding deity. In former times the worship was conducted with elaborate ceremonies, directions for which were preserved in copper plates. By the side of the *pūttara* and to the south, is the *guruttara*, where the Guru or *as'an* takes rest watching his pupils practising. The *guru* has ordinarily a deity of his own, the *upāsanamūrti*, who may or may not be the *kalari devata*, to whom he prays and whom he invokes in moments of trial and in all undertakings.

5. The course begins with the pupil and the Guru rubbing themselves all over with oil in profusion. The pupil is taught to kick his leg high in the air to the height of his own uplifted arms, and to bend his body backwards till his head touches the ground. After some proficiency in these movements, the pupil after some massaging by the Guru, stretches himself at full length on the floor, first on his back and then with face to the ground, while the teacher holding a strong rope secured to the roof proceeds most dexterously with his feet to shampoo his pupil all over including the region of the heart, lungs, joints etc., After this the pupil rises up, when the tutor vigorously rubs him down with his hands. These preliminary processes called *meiodukkam payattu* (मीढुक्काम पायातु) or the practices necessary to make the body supple and the limbs flexible, are essential, as suppleness and agility are of great importance in advanced stages of fencing. After these the pupil is first taught to fence with the

muchān, also called *cheruvadi* or *kuruvadi*, a short stick $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 3 *chāṇs*, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet in length. After finishing a regular course of twelve exercises, he is taught to defend himself with longer sticks, 6 feet in length, known as *keṭṭukari* or *sariravadi*, which may be called the Malabar quarter-staff. This is grasped in the middle and wielding it to the right and left is used to strike and defend. It is also held near either end, by one or both the hands, as required. Mr. Fawcett describes as follows a contest with this stick that he witnessed in 1895. "The opponents who faced each other stood 30 feet apart and, as if under the same stimulus, each kicked one leg high in the air, gave several lively bounds in the air, held their staff horizontally in front with outstretched arms, came down slowly on the haunches, placed the staff on the ground, bent over and touched it with the forehead. With a sudden bound they were again on their feet and after some preliminary pirouetting went for each tooth and nail".¹ The various forms of the use of this stick are known under the names of *kōltari*, *angattari*, *paṭattāri*, *pulian-gam*, *pandirān* etc., some of which are adopted for fighting wild animals. The use of the various sticks and proficiency in these practices, prepares the pupil to begin the use of weapons which are now introduced. He is taught the use of the shield, the sword and the javelin. The javelin or *urumi*, as it is called, and the shield were the favourite

¹ Madras Museum. Bulletin Vol. III. No. 3. p. 291.

weapons men invariably carried with them in olden days in self-defence. But the instrument that represents the acme of perfection and calls forth the best efforts in fencing is the *orra* (ഓറ). It is a short staff about 2 feet in length, curved at the middle and tapering towards the end. Made of wood or elephant tusks or the horn of the deer, it is used with great efficacy to stab or strike or to ward off the opponent's blows. In practising with the *orra*, suppleness is everything, the opponents winding and turning their bodies and throwing themselves backwards and forwards, to the astonishment of the beholders. While undergoing this course of physical culture and martial exercises, the pupils have to abide by certain strict regulations. They must remain strictly continent, take no long walks, and avoid cold. Before the day's practices begin, they take a breakfast of some sustaining food in liquid form, and at the conclusion of each day's exercises, swallow a beverage of hot water mixed with ghee and ground pepper. They have to rise by dawn, should not sleep during the day, and must avoid fire.

6. On the day the course begins and on the day it closes, each pupil gives the Guru a *dakshina* in money and clothes. As we learn from folk songs, the annual ceremony during the 40 days period known as a *mannalam* which falls during the cold weather, in November and December, was the occasion for prolonged worship of the deity followed by exhibition of skill with the various instruments and weapons. The pupils assemble

and do homage to the Guru with *dakshina*, and presentations of rich gifts are made by the *naduvārhi* and *desavari* who come to witness the ceremonies. It is interesting to observe how this ancient institution has left its imprint on the domestic life of the Malayali, for it used to be customary for every Malayali to undergo for about a month, every year of his life, a course of *urichal* (ഊരിച്ചൽ) at the hands of an expert, oiling the body profusely, with shampooing the hands and feet, similar to the preliminary *kalarī* practices described above.

7. *Angam*. Fencing in its higher stages naturally led to trials of strength by single combats where the parties used either sticks or more deadly weapons. The single combat which the *kalaris* fostered was known by the distinctive name of *angam*, a word which means fight, duel, battle, challenge.² The principal weapon used was the *churika* or a small sword. The *angam*, with the martial spirit it kept alive, was soon made use of by the rulers of the day as an effective means of settling disputes between rival factions. For a proper understanding of the *raison-d'être* of the *angam* and its long popular favour, it is necessary to illustrate it from folklore which alone has preserved its memory fresh and handed it down to succeeding generations. The most important of the songs is the one called after *valia* Aromar Chekarvar, one of the most romantic and heroic figures of Kerala, who

² *Malayalam and English Dictionary*. Gundert. p. 7.

flourished about the 13th century. The story so far as it relates to the institution of *angam* may be briefly described as below :—The old Kaimal or chief of Kurungattidem at his death-bed calls his two nephews and bids them both to live amicably with the wealth that he has bestowed on them. Unichandror, however, after the death of his uncle, in defiance of his dying wishes, lays claim to the chieftainship in preference to Unikkonar, the senior whom his uncle had nominated the Kaimal. The dispute soon assumes bigger proportions, and serious altercations arise between the two, both sides losing heavily. The matter finally reaches the ears of *naḍuvāri* or the ruler of the country, who makes all possible attempts at arbitration. Failing in all means of reconciliation, he gives his final award in the following significant words :—

Paḍavēṭṭu tammil tuḍan- If you wage war
niyālō

Eṟiya jānannal nasichu- Many a man will die ;
pōkum

Nallanga chēkavare Search for combatant
tēḍikkōlin Chekors ;

Angam piṭichu jayik- He who wins in the *angam*
kunnōṟku

Annatte māppāḍum He shall rule as the elder.
vāpirikkām.

The object then of the *angam* as illustrated above was to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. Its effects on the economy and the welfare of the

country were far reaching. It was cherished by the rulers of the times as a national safeguard to preserve the man power of the country at a period in the history of Kerala, when the peace of the country was disturbed by numerous feuds and factions, and might was right, and armed retainers under their respective leaders scoured the country, prepared to draw the sword at the slightest pretext. *Angam* thus transferred the contest from the real protagonists to the chosen champions of either party and prevented warfare and the consequent loss of life. On the other hand, it gave rise to a class of professional fighters known as *Chēkōrs*, vowed to the sword, whose sole business in life was to fight these mortal combats for remuneration. "*Chēkōr*" comes from a Malayalam word, *chēkam*, *sēva*, *sēvakam*, service, chiefly about the king's person, and also denotes one of the Illavar castes. ³ Tiyars by caste, the *Chēkōrs* flourished from about the 9th century, in and about Kaṭattanād in North Malabar, Putturam house being celebrated for the heroes famed in songs it has produced, the most distinguished of them all being Valia Aromar Chēkavar, referred to above, one of the greatest warriors of Kerala. In a moving address to his brother, on taking leave of his kith and kin before proceeding to his last fight, Asomar observes:—

Nammude pandēte

karanamār

Our forefathers

Anga chamayam

Came down as *angam*

chamaññu pōnnu

fighters;

³ Malayalam and English Dictionary, Gundert. p. 388.

Chēkavanmārayi janichāl pinne	When one is born a Chekavan, his bread
Vālkāpayil chōrellō chēkōnmārku	He earns on the point of the sword ;
Angattinu āraṇum vannatenkil	Should any one requisition your services,
Pōkate kaṇḍittu irunnukūḍa	You cannot refuse to go.

They were established at Kadattanad by the rulers of the day who bestowed on them the four kalaris, Angakalari, Cherukalari, Toduvorkalari and Todukalari. The ceremonies preliminary to the *angam* are elaborate in the extreme and emphasise the religious idea of divine help without which no success is possible. To begin with, on the Chēkōr signifying his consent, a pūjā or offering is made to the god Ganapati who is duly worshipped. At the conclusion of the pūjā, the full fees for the *angam*, called the angakkirippanam is deposited, with due ceremony in the principal room of the house, which will have already been provided with a lighted lamp and a measure of rice. The fee is recokened in gold fanams, then current, made up in bundles of a thousand and one fanams in each bundle, one hundred and one such bundles being about the maximum fees payable, amounting at a rough calculation to over Rs. 30,000 at the present rate of as. 5 ps. 4 per fanam. The Chēkōr then calls on one of his relatives to come and take the fees, and secure it in the strong room of the house. It may be noted that the fees that successive generations of Chēkōrs thus added

to the family exchequer made them as a class very wealthy and prosperous.

The fee accepted, the Chekor spends the rest of his time until the date of the fight in devotion and prayer to his deity to crown his efforts with success and in preparation for the fight. This is usually a most trying period for the whole family who are overcome with grief, at the impending departure of their dear one, perhaps to meet certain death. A good deal of his time is taken up in settlement of his household affairs, and disposal of his property should he die in the fight. On the appointed day, with the rising of the Sun the procession starts triumphantly to the place of fight with all the honours and privileges attaching to the rank and status of Chekors conferred on them by Cheraman Perumal, such as the light by day, the cloth spread on the ground to walk upon, firing of salutes, wielding the burnished shield and the short fencing staff, drums beating and with all the acclamations of a battle. The angataṭṭu or the wooden platform on which the combatants stand and fight, will in the meantime have been erected at the most convenient and prominent place. The erection of the platform is accompanied by appropriate ceremonies and Ganapati pūjā, after which the carpenters engage themselves in constructing it,—the three different parts, namely the central post, the platform, and the steps being made of teak, tamarind and rosewood respectively. Before the fight begins, a narration of the matter in dispute is made by one of the

principals to the contest, concluding with the orders of the *nāḍuvāri*, that the controversy should be fought out at an *angam*. On the termination of the fight, which takes place when one of the combatants is vanquished or killed, the successful combatant proclaims that he has won the *angam*. The victor is at once received with loud acclamations of joy and firing of salutes in honour of the victory. He is decorated with a golden bracelet, the customary mode of rewarding merit and valour, taking the place of the medal of modern times.

8. The following account by Mr. Jonathan Duncan will be read with interest. * “When “mortal offence was given by one man to another, “a solemn contract used to be entered into before “the chieftain of the locality to fight a duel, the “chieftain himself being the umpire. Large sums “used to be deposited as the battle wager and these sums formed one source of the chieftain’s Revenue, and the right to levy them was sometimes transferred along with other privileges appertaining to the tenure of the soil. A preparation and training (it is said) for 12 years preceded the battle in order to qualify the combatants in the use of weapons. The men who fought were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel,—they were generally their champions. It was essential that one should fall and so both men settled all their worldly affairs before the date of the combat.”

* *Madras Govt. Museum Bulletin*, Vol III. No. 3. *Anthropology*, p. 289.

9. It is easy to discern in the *angam* a counterpart of the duel in European countries at about the same period of time, with the difference that champions fought in the *angam*, instead of the principals themselves as in the duel of the West. It is also of interest to note that the *angam* as a means of settlement of disputes in judicial enquiry, had the characteristic in it of trial by ordeal, the essence of which was faith in divine intercession, which largely entered into the idea of the *angam*, with its glorious uncertainty, trusting to divine intercession to crown the cause of justice and righteousness with success.

V. THE VALAYANS OF PAMBAN.

By S. T. MOSES, M. A., F. Z. S., F. R. A. I.

Information obtained in the course of an enquiry into the socio-economic condition of the fishing classes of the Ramnad district viz Karayans, Kadayans (or Sunambukars), Jonagars, Valayans, and Idayans, indicates that the Valaiyans described in Thurston's monumental work on 'The Castes and Tribes of South India' include apparently different communities living in the adjoining districts of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Madura and Ramnad. The members of the community described in this paper deny all connection with the Valayans of the interior.

Origin and Tradition.—Their name is undoubtedly derived from 'valai' meaning net, and a story goes that their god Mahadeva presented them with the first net ever invented in the world to catch a fish which had swallowed the god's ring. Ever since, they and their descendants have gone on fishing as a means of livelihood, the god having persuaded all people to freely partake of fish diet.

The headquarters of this caste were formerly the tract stretching from Vedalai to beyond Rameswaram, down from the days of Sri Rama who it is said specially wanted them to trust in him. Hence Nambu, Sethunambu, Raman and Sethuraman are popular names among valayas—when the sethu was built across to Ceylon.

Title.—The honorific title of this caste is 'Ambalakars' meaning apparently 'owners of temple'. There is a tradition that originally the Rameswaram temple was theirs both as regards proprietorship and as regards the performance of the religious rites—many valayas are named Poosari meaning priest—but that it was handed over later to the Brāhmans on condition of their using as sacred threads the threads of fishing nets.

Habitation.—At present their headquarters is Pamban, while a few families live scattered in Vedalai, Mandapam, Aryangundu, Rameswaram, Kurusadi island and Pallivasal island. The number of Valaya houses in Pamban and the closely adjacent islands of Kurusadi and Pallivasal is only about 250 with a population of about 580 men and women excluding the children. Fifty years ago the Valayas of Pamban were much fewer but then they received whole-sale reinforcements by the migration of families from Mandapam, who sought Pamban as a haven of refuge, unable to bear any longer the oppressions of their Marakayar masters. The revalries of the Marakayars of Mandapam and Pamban had much to do with the frequent shiftings to and from Mandapam.

Their habitation in Pamban is a settlement a mile away from the village and of course outside it. The houses are built of mud and clay with thatched roofs. The well-to-do members of the community—they are not more than half a dozen—have their walls whitewashed and decorated with crude drawings of male and female figures and

coloured lines. Most Valayas keep goats and, if a goat happens to climb on the roof, it is regarded as an act of disastrous portent to the residents of the house; to avert the consequences the unfortunate brute is dragged about the village and punished with the clipping of its two ears.

Physical features.—The Valayas are as a rule dark and of medium height; the men, though capable of hard work, are not very muscular, the women appearing to be hardier and to possess better physique. They do not appear to be intelligent; and education has made no headway amongst them, only about a dozen in the whole village being able to write Tamil and to do simple accounts. The desire for education is not general and where it does exist—about 2 dozen children attend a school run by a Christian mission—it is stifled by the Marakayar fish-merchants, who think they stand to lose if the Valayas are educated. The Valayas are by nature very timid, though owing to the present day general awakening of the masses, their mortal fear of the Marakayars, whose fishing slaves they practically were a decade or so ago, has lessened considerably. They tyrannised, especially the needy among them, whose catches of fish, even the prospective ones are the property of the lending Marakayar. Usually justice is denied to them in the local Assembly (Ambalam) and so the name Ambalakar is considered by some to be an ironical title applied to these Nuliar (fishermen)

whose complaints according to a Tamil proverb 'Nulian pechi Ambalam erathu' have no result.

Cranial &c measurements.—Fifty men were measured and their cranial indices work out as follows :—Average : 75.7, Maximum : 86.0, Minimum : 66.4. Their nasal indices are Average : 80.5, Maximum : 93.6, and minimum : 68.8. Their heights ranged from 4 ft 10 in to 5 ft. 5 in., the average being 5 ft. 1 in.

Social status.—The Valayas are among the lower classes but not so low down the scale as the sweeper Chakilis or the lime-burning Kadayans. They are freely admitted into temples where in fact they play a leading part in processions as torchbearers and bearers of the gods &c. They have free access to all roads, though formerly under Muhammadan terrorism it was denied in the streets occupied by 'Muthalalis', leaders or rich men among the Marakayars, in whose presence even to-day the men have to remove their upper garments.

Occupation.—Fishing is the main occupation. A few Valayans own canoes and nets and do fishing on their own account but most are employed by rich Marakayar merchants at fixed monthly wages to catch fish for them. Even the former have however to sell their catches to the chief Marakayars who control the fish trade there. Fishing is done in the seas around, round the islands, the sandpits, coral reefs &c. During the seasons when shoaling fish like garfish, sardines or *Lactarius* congregate the whole male population

is out at the fishing centres. Mostly they are employed to drag the shore seines (*Karai valai*) at monthly wages with free food. The cooking arrangements for the men so employed are in the hands of paid Valaya women. The men also serve as *lascars* usually on board the sailing vessels or as boatmen to row canoes to and from places around Pamban. The women are also experts in rowing. In spare hours the men and at all times the women and children earn a few annas by the collection of shells and seaslugs on the coral reefs and mudflats partially or fully exposed at low tide.

Religion.—The Valayas are Hindus even the women who are concubines of other religionists mostly Muhumadans. Their gods are chiefly Ayyanar (Pidari) and Karuppan. There are 2 deities under the latter name,—one major, Periya Karuppan and the other minor, Chinna Karuppan. Their chief festival of the year comes off in February to March and is held at Vedalai in honour of Ayyanar. All Valayas from the Rameswaram island try to be present then. When smallpox breaks out the Valayas like other Hindu castes celebrate a grand festival to propitiate 'Ammal' the goddess of smallpox by offering goats &c. There is much revelry and drink during the festival.

With the tolerance usually exhibited by Hindus the Valayas participate in Christian festivals also, e. g. at the Roman Catholic festival held annually at Thangachimadan. Just before the garfish season they also set up a crescent flag, consecrated by

the recitation of prayers at the Pamban mosque, to bring them potluck in fishing and also to protect them from accidents such as being pierced by the sharp snouts of the active skipping garfish.

The names of Valayas are usually those of the gods Periyakaruppan and Chinnakaruppan or Karuppan by itself. A popular name among women is Karuppayi—it has no reference to the dark color of the individual so named but is the name of the consort of the god Karuppan. Many descriptive names are also in vogue e. g. Kuridi applied to a girl with defective eyesight and Omiyar applied to a man who is ever grave and silent.

Customs.—Valayas in their dress resemble other Hindus though the womenfolk taboo blue—clothes the colour of the fishmonger in the west—because they consider that colour as sacred to their god Karuppan. In their funeral ceremonies they follow the other Hindu castes there, as also in many of their marriage customs. The tying of the *tali* string in a yellow thread is always done by the sister of the bridegroom. License seems much tolerated, concubinage being very common. Muhumadans and even Brahmans are not averse to keep Valaya women. Divorce is easy to obtain, the husband or wife having to pay only 5 as. to the Paichayatdars. Formerly there was a headman among the community but owing to internal factions and the tyranny of the Mandapam Marakayars that institution became defunct long ago. Today the Valayans of Pamban virtually

acknowledge as their arbitrator; a Marakayar fish merchant of Pamban who is, by the way, keeping a Valaya woman, disputes are settled, fines levied and some satisfactory settlement arrived at in regard to even cases pending before the Panchayat and higher courts, under the banyan tree near the aforesaid Muhumadan's house. (This gentleman, unfortunately for the Valayas, died suddenly on January 29). Before they migrated wholesale from Mandapam to Pamban they practically acknowledged the headmanship of the 'Mandapam Marakayar' whose word was law not only as regards fishing but even in cases of marriage—whether a Valaya girl was to be married to a Valaya or given in concubinage to a Marakayar depended on the whim and fancy of the Marakayar. The Valaya concubines of the Marakayars seem to be happy and contented and perhaps prefer this state to a Valaya marriage.

Usually the Valayas, even the children and the women, are not afraid to move about during dark nights alone along deserted seashores to the places where they run the tidal 'Kalankatti' fishery. They have ordinarily no fear of ghosts. But at Kurusadi island where about 3 years ago death wiped away one whole family and all young male members of the four other families living there, owing to a hearty but reckless feed of turtle's flesh at a season when the otherwise innocuous flesh is believed to be poisonous, the survivors afraid of ghosts, the spirits of their recently dead relatives, which they say did actually trouble

them, avoided not only their old habitation but even the island. One family has however been persuaded to stay now and that close to the residential quarters of the Government staff there.

Food.—As regards the food of the Valayas, nothing seems to come amiss to them. The flesh of molluscs like Nathai (Turbo), Kovanji (Oliva), Varimatti (Circe gibba) add Kakkamatti (Mesodesma), gerbil rats, turtles and the fruit of the fragrant screwpine after a feed on which the tongue itches frightfully—are among their special articles of diet. They are inveterate drunkards, men women and even children drinking toddy copiously, when money is available. Though heavy drunkards, they appear to be long-lived and a veteran ascribes his age and wonderful vitality to toddy and turtle flesh.

VI. THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF THE BATHURIA OF MAYURBHANJ STATE.

BY BAJRA KUMAR CHATTERJEE, M. SC.

(Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha).

Not far from Calcutta there are some aboriginal people who are still living in the semi-savage condition; the rays of the so-called civilization have not yet penetrated the deep dense forest around their abode. So simple are their habits, so simple is their heart, so simple are their ideas, so simple is their behaviour and last but not least so hospitable they are, that one cannot form an idea that this is possible in the 20th century and within 172 miles from the second city in the British Empire.

I am speaking of the Mayurbhanj Feudatory State where good many aboriginal tribes are still living viz. Bhumija, Bhuya, Kharia, Bathuria, Santhal, Mahato & so on.

I shall speak something of the Bathuria who are semi-Hinduized and scattered hither and thither within the State, but mostly concentrated within the village Pratappur and Jamboni by name about 15 miles from Baripada Railway Station.

Physically, they are long-headed, of medium stature, of stout build, deep brown colour and medium nose which is slightly depressed at the root and of stiff hair, and brown eyes. They are not the indigenous people of that place. They have a tradition of their original home; they say that at first they were living at Adipur whence their

forefathers crossed Semulpahar and came to Deshpur. Gradually from Deshpur they came to Bamunghoti thence to Uparbhog and thence to Noabason and ultimately to Baropora near Protapur and settled there as their forefathers could hardly get sufficient quantity of food and land for cultivation in those places.

They are known by the single name "BATHURIA".

They are divided into several clans of which which I have been able to collect eight names, as under, together with their meaning when available :—

1. KARGALI or KAGA—It is a kind of animal, resembling a dog. It can kill elephants and hogs and is not afraid of any animal.
2. DAHUKCHARAI—Kind of bird.
3. KURGOTRA.
4. KHANDAU.
5. PANIPAK.
6. HASTI.
7. LALSALUK.
8. NAGA.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

The marriage takes place in the following months:—

<i>Bengali Months</i>		<i>Corresponding English.</i>	
Baisak	...	Middle of April to middle of	May.
Ashar	...	„ „	June to „ July.
Magh	...	„ „	January to „ Feby.
Falgun	...	„ „	February to „ March

The marriageable age in the case of male, is from 14 upwards and that of girls is 11 and upwards.

There is no professional middle man to conduct the marriages.

The bridegroom's party sends one man to the bride's party and proposes the marriage and if they agree they consult the village Astrologer who simply asks the names of the bridegroom and the bride and gives his opinion and takes one pice as his remuneration.

After this the bride-price is settled which varies from Rs. 3/- and upwards and cloths to parents according to the bride-groom's means. When they come to an agreement in this respect the groom's party sends parched rice, sweets, one bead-necklace and a rupee to the bride's house, when usually the marriage is settled. But in case the bride's family disagrees the elders are consulted who then compel the party to give their consent and the marriage is performed; but this is very rare.

If a boy takes a fancy to a girl he tells it to the girl and to his parents, and his parants propose the marriage to the bride's family, but should the girl disagree the parents of the girl insist her to marry him in which case she generally gives her consent, but in case she persists the proposal is dropped. The same procedure applies in case a girl takes a fancy to a boy. When both parties agree the usual course is adopted for the final settlement of the marriage (as detailed in previous paragraphs).

Bathurias would not marry within their own clan but they must marry within their own tribe.

Marriage among the blood relations is prohibited up to three generations, i. e. it will remain in force from the son and his grandson (i. e. his grandson's son can marry his grand-daughter's daughter, i. e. daughter's daughter's daughter).

For the marriage of a boy or girl, the consent of the parents as well as the maternal uncle is essentially required.

Change of place is no bar to marriage (i. e. a boy of Protappur can marry a girl of Jamboni though the distance is a considerably long one). So also the social status is no bar (i. e. an agriculturist Bathuria boy can marry a carpenter Bathuria girl and *vice versa*).

A male Bathuria can marry as many times as he likes, though this is seldom done; but a girl cannot marry more than once under religious forms and observances. But in case of divorce or widowhood, a girl can marry in the "Sanga" form of marriage. Generally in case of a divorce the parents of the girl consult the council of village elders presided over by the Pradhan (in a Conference) seeking for their permission which if granted is called "Mukti" when the girl can be married under the "Sanga" form, but not otherwise. In this case, however, the village elders enquire into the causes that led to her divorce and if they are satisfied they give her "Mukti", while, on the other hand, if she is found to be divorced for her own fault (i. e. adultery or other

misbehaviour on her part) they do not give her "Mukti", and she is not allowed to marry in the "Sanga" form even.

Three days before the day of marriage the bridegroom's party goes to the village of the bride and they have to be fed by the bride's party. But on the fixed date the bridegroom goes there. Before starting, they worship the village deity whom they call "*Gram-Thakurin*" and marriage always takes place just before the dawn which they call "Before the rising of the Mohapurusha".
Marriage Procedure.—

A raised platform is made and on it four twigs of "sar" are fixed in the form of square and four burning lamps are placed by the side of each branch and a thread is wound seven times round the twigs.

A vessel full of water is placed there with some paddy, some cowrie-shells and a branch of mangoe tree, the last named being placed inside the vessel.

A burning lamp is placed by the side of the priest, whom they call "*Paṇḍā-bāmun*".

The following things are also required for the performance of the ceremony :—

Betelnut, grass, plum leaves, flower, sandal, mathe, vermilion, tamarin, myrabolan.

At the time of performing the marriage the "Homa" ceremony is also performed with ghee and parched rice.

A ring made of *kusha* grass is worn on the middle finger by the bridegroom and on the ring finger by the bride.

Some utensils and one pair of earrings made of brass or silver are also required at the time of the marriage ceremony.

After the performance of the ceremonies the invited guests are entertained with parched rice and sweets and they all make themselves merry the whole day.

The bridegroom and the bride also take part with them and when all is over they go back to their village in the afternoon with the whole party.

Before entering their huts the bridegroom and the bride have to worship their own deity after washing their bodies from the nearest revulet or pond. Five or six days later, the bride returns to her parents' home.

The "Sanga" form of marriage.—

This is not the regular form of marriage and accordingly the procedure of the regular form of marriage (mentioned above) is not resorted to. In this form of marriage only one rupee is paid to their "Mahāpātra" and some minor ceremony is performed (the "*Homa*" ceremony is not performed) and before entering the huts they are not to worship their own deity as in the ordinary marriage.

This form of marriage is possible in the case of a widow or divorced girl. Generally in the case of a widow, her husband's younger brother marries her in this "Sanga" form, but in the absence of any younger brother any of her husband's younger cousins may marry her in the "Sanga"

form. But generally a widow having children would not marry.

If any one keeps a girl as a concubine, i. e. without marrying her either in the regular form or in the "Sanga" form and if that girl always quarrels with the members of the family or with the married wife of the person, then the members of the family reports that to the elders of the villages who summon the person and order him either to turn her out or to marry her in the "Sanga" form.

By doing this they think the girl would not quarrel with the members of the family any longer.

In the case of adultery with the wife of another, generally they inform the village elders, who call the adulterer and order him to pay as penalty all the expenses that may be incurred by the person at the time of taking a second wife.

They would not allow that woman to come back to her husband's family whether the adulterer is of the same clan or not but if he is of the same clan then she is invited to come at the time of any ceremony or feast and festivals.

Generally they do not divorce a wife but if they find any serious offence such as adultery on the part of the wife she is divorced but not otherwise, because they say "Why should we divorce our wives whom we have bought with so much money?"

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. ON THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN THE MAHABHARAT LEGEND ABOUT THE DIS- ROBING OF DRAUPADI AND A TRADITION RECORDED IN THE JAPANESE KAMAKURASHI.

I.—Preliminary Remarks.

The amusements that were most popular in Ancient India were dicing, hunting, horse-racing, chariot-racing, hawking, pigeon-flying and animal-fighting. But according to the testimony of the records of the Vedic Age, dicing and horse-racing formed the chief sport of the people of those ancient times. Gambling and betting were very common in the early ages of India, as will appear from the evidence afforded by the Rig-Veda, the Atharva Veda, the Satapatha Brāhman and other ancient work. Betting was an inseparable accompaniment of dice-playing. Some gamblers stake away their wealth, their wives and even their personal freedom. History has recorded many cases of misery and ruin which gambling brought in its trail in Ancient India; and Keegi and Wilson speak of many incidents wherein a good many people ruined themselves by gambling.

The Mahābhārata, the great epic of India, has recorded another well-known instance of the ruin which the dice-player and the gambler brought on themselves, as will appear from the testimony of the undermentioned famous legend which is narrated in that classical epic:—

II.—The Mahābhārata Legend about the Disrobing of Draupadī.

Draupadī, otherwise known as Kṛṣṇā Pāṇchālī, or Yājñasenī, was the daughter of Drupada, King of the Pāṇchāla country, and the joint-wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers Yudhisthir, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. When she attained to years of maturity, her father expressed a desire to give her in marriage to Arjun.

But, after the burning of their house made of lac, King Drupada did not receive any news about the five Pāṇḍava brothers. On account of this, he caused it to be proclaimed that he would give Draupadī in marriage to whomsoever would be able to pierce a high-placed target with his arrows. Accordingly, he had the target placed on a position of great altitude, and caused a very stiff and unbendable bow to be manufactured. Hearing about Draupadī's great beauty and varied accomplishments, princes and noblemen from all parts of the country assembled in Raja Drupada's court for the purpose of taking part in the competition. Far from being able to pierce the target, many princes were unable even to affix the string to the bow.

When the great hero Karna affixed the string on to the bow and was about to pierce the high-placed target with his arrow, Draupadī loudly cried out and stated before the whole assembly that she would never marry Suta's son Karna. Hearing this, Karna threw away the bow and the arrows and went away.

Thereafter, the Pāṇḍava brother Arjuna assumed disguise and advanced to take part in the contest. He succeeded in piercing the target and, thus, became entitled to marry Draupadī. Subsequently, at the behest of the sage Vyāsdeva, she was married to all the aforementioned five Pāṇḍava brothers.

When the latter made Indraprastha the capital of the kingdom, she went there and lived happily with her five husbands. After having performed the great sacrifice known as the Rajsūya Yajna, Yudhisṭhira the eldest of the five Pāṇḍava princes played at a game of dice with the Kaurava prince Duryodhana who, however, played therein by resorting to deceitful trickery and thus won the game. As the result of this, Yudhisṭhir lost in favour of Duryodhana his kingdom, his wealth, his subjects and even the joint-wife Draupadi whom he had staked as a wager. In consequence of this Draupadi had to suffer great troubles and indignities.

Thereafter the miscreant Du'shāsana, at the order of the wicked Duryodhana, caught hold of Draupadi by the hair and forcibly dragged her into the assembly where the game was being played. As Yudhisṭhira had lost everything, by way of wager in the game, in favour of Duryodhana, the *sāri* which Draupadi was wearing had become the property of Duryodhana. Therefore the wicked Duryodhana ordered the miscreant Du'shāsana to snatch away the *sāri* from her. Receiving this order, Du'shāsana began to snatch it off from her body. At this, she began to weep

and cried piteously for help. But no one present in the assembly had the manliness to come forward and help her out of this shameful predicament. At this, her eyes grew dim and she saw everything enveloped in darkness, and began to pray to the great god who Hari came to her help and, by a miraculous stratagem, rendered Dushāsana's wicked attempt to disrobe her fruitless and unavailing, by making her *sāri* unending; that is to say, the more her *sāri* was pulled the longer it became, and there was no end to it. Thereafter, she obtained from the Kaurava King Dhritarashtra (father of Duryodhana) a boon which exempted her five husbands from the consequences of having lost the wagers of the game of dice, described above.

The foregoing Indian legend has its parallel in the shape of a tradition which is recorded in the ancient Japanese annals entitled the *Kamakurashi*.

III.—The Kamakurashi Tradition about Lady Taira-no Tokyori's disrobing herself as Penalty for Losing a Game at Chess.

It is narrated in the seventh volume of the Japanese book entitled the *Kamakurashi* that there was formerly at Kamakura a temple called the *Emmei-ji* in which there was enshrined a famous statue of Jizo called *Hadaka-Jizo* or the "Naked Jizo". This statue was, indeed, naked and clothes were put on it; and it stood upright with its feet upon a chess board.

Now, when pilgrims came to this temple and

paid a certain fee, the priest of the temple would remove the clothes of the statue; and, then, all could see that though the face was the face of Jizo the body was the body of a woman.

Now, the circumstances under which this famous image of Hadak-Jizo had its origin, may be related as follows:—

On one occasion, the great Prince Tairā-no Tokyori was playing at chess with his wife (Lady Tairā-no Tokyori) in the presence of good many guests. After they had played several games, Lord Tairā-no Tokyori made with his wife the stipulation (to which she agreed) that whosoever would lose the next game would have to stand stark naked upon the chessboard. Now it is happened, that in the next game they played, his wife lost it. Consequently, according to the stipulation agreed upon, she was bound to stand stark naked upon the chessboard. Seeing the disgraceful predicament in which she was placed Lady Tairā-no Tokyori prayed to the god Jizo to save her from the shame of disrobing herself and standing naked before that assembly. In response to her prayer, his godship arrived there and stood upon the chessboard. And, then disrobing himself the god Jizo suddenly changed his body into the body of a woman. *

IV.—Concluding Remarks.

On comparing the Indian Legend with the Japanese tradition we find—

* *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan.* By Laccadio Hearn. In two volumes. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1901 Vol. I pages 73-74.

(1) That in the former, the husband of the heroine stakes her as a wager at a game of dice which his opponent wins ;

(2) That the winner of the game, having won her as a wager attempts to disrobe her ;

(3) That, being placed in this shameful predicament she prays to the god Hari to save her from the shame of standing nude before the assembled players and on-lookers ; and

(4) That the god Hari saves her from the shame by making her *sāri* unending ; that is to say, the more her *sāri* was pulled the longer it became and there was no end to it.

(5) That, in the Japanese tradition, the husband of the heroine, while playing at a game of chess with her, makes with her the stipulation that whosoever would lose the game would have to stand naked on the chess-board and that she agrees to the stipulation ;

(6) That she having lost the game, was to have stood naked on the chess-board before the assembled guests ;

(7) That she being placed in this shameful predicament prayed to the god Jizo to save her from the disgrace of standing naked on the chess-board.

(8) That the god Jizo, in response to her appeal, came and taking the heroine's place on the chess-board, suddenly changed his body into that of a woman.

Though the parallelism is not complete, yet there is some analogy between the Indian legend and the Japanese tradition.

Now the question arises, "How has the parallelism arisen?" In answer to this question, it might be stated by the average person that it is an "accidental coincidence". But speaking from the anthropologist's point of view, it may be said that this parallelism is due to the "Psychic Unity" which compelled primitive men to conceive the same explanations of natural phenomena and to express the same by embodying them in identical or almost similar language.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA,

M. A., B. L.



II. THE KAHARS OF MYSORE.

Introduction :—The Mysore Kahars are immigrants from the Bombay Presidency. It is said that their fore-fathers were *palki* bearers who come in the train of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb. They have at present no connection with the parent stock in Northern India, and have adopted the customs and manners of the local castes of similar social standing.

Internal Structure :—There are no endogamous groups of this caste, neither have they any exogamous clans; but they have families bearing surnames. Members of families having the same surname cannot intermarry. The following are some of the surnames :—Bhandare, Gangole, Kachar, Lachure, Ladke, Padre, Simbre.

Marriage Customs :—A member of the caste cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. He may marry two sisters; and two brothers may marry two sisters. The habit of the caste is settled, and outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Boys are married between ten and twenty-five, and girls before they come of age. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

The marriage ceremonies of the Kahars are similar to those of the Maharattas. The most important of these are :—Rubbing the bride and bridegroom with turmeric, Kanyadan or handing over of the bride to the bridegroom, and Saptapadi or walking seven times round the sacrificial fire, and the installation of the Devak which consists of the leaves of the Chami (*Brosopis spicigera*). These leaves are tied to a post of

the same bush planted in the marriage booth, and to this is tied a turmeric root in a piece of yellow cloth. An earthen jar and a lid are brought in procession from a potter, placed near the Devak and adored.

Widow marriage is allowed. The ceremony consists in putting on of a new robe and bodice by the widow, after which *kunkuma* is applied to her forehead. Should a bachelor desire to marry a widow, he is first married to an earring worn by him. A husband can divorce his wife on the ground of her misconduct. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of widow marriage.

Religion :—The Kahars follow the Hindu law of inheritance and the religion Hindu. They observe all Hindu holidays and have Brāhmans for their priests.

Funeral Customs :—The married dead members are burned and the unmarried buried. Their death ceremonies are like those of the Kunbis. They perform Sradh for the spirit of the departed.

Occupation :—The hereditary occupation of the caste is palanquin-bearing, and catching and selling fish. Some grow vegetables and tobacco.

Food :—They eat flesh of goats, sheep and game animals but not of game birds, and eat at the hands of Kunbis.

L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER,

B. A., L. T., F. R. A. I.

III. THE "MAGICAL CONFLICT" IN SANTALI, BENGALI, AND AO NAGA FOLK-LORE.

There are some cumulative folktales which belong to what Mr. Baring Gould calls popular fictions of "The Magical-Conflict Root". In folktales of this cycle, two or more persons possessed of nearly equal magical powers of metamorphosing themselves into whatever shapes they like, engage themselves in a life-and-death struggle. Folktales of this group are current among various peoples inhabiting tracts of countries separated from each other by wide oceans and high mountain-ridges. We can account for the universal prevalence of this cycle of folktales by the widely spread popular belief that men are capable of acquiring magical powers whereby they can metamorphose themselves into whatever shapes they please.

In the course of my study of the folk-lore of the Santals who are a Munda-speaking people living in the Santal Parganas, in the district of Bhagalpur in South Bihar, and in Western Bengal and Northern Orissa, I have come across the fact that this people are firm believers in magic and witchcraft. They assert that, by learning magic and witchcraft from the witches, a Santal magician or wizard is able to make trees to wither away and to come to life again, and to make rain fall wherever he pleases, while any place he chooses would remain quite dry. By his knowledge of magic, he is able to walk upon the surface of the waters without getting wet. He can exorcise away hail-

stones so that none will touch his house though it will fall all around it. For a joke, he can make stools stick fast to his friends when they will sit upon them; and any one whom he will scold will find himself unable to speak properly. *

From the study of the folklore of the Santals, I also find that their magicians or wizards sometimes waged deadly conflict with those who incurred their displeasure.

For instance, in one of their folktales it is narrated that a Santal boy apprenticed himself to a magician for the purpose of learning magic from the latter. But when the former requested his preceptor—the Sitari Jogi—to teach him an incantation whereby he would be able to change his own shape, the latter refused to do so. But the boy learnt this spell from the Jogi's friends. Subsequently, the boy again requested his preceptor to teach him that incantation. But the Jogi again refused to do so. Thereupon the boy expressed a desire to return to his own home. At this, the Jogi changed himself into a leopard for the purpose of killing the boy. Thereupon the boy turned himself into a pigeon. Seeing this, the magician became a hawk and pursued him. At this, the boy changed himself into a fly; and seeing this, the Jogi became a paddy-bird and chased the former. Thereupon the fly alighted on the plate of rice from which a Rānī was taking her meal. At this, the Jogi assumed his

* *Vide. Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, By C. H. Bompas, London: David Nutt, 1909. Page 425.

natural shape and, appearing before the Rāṇī, asked her to scatter upon the ground the grains of rice she was eating. This she did. Thereupon the boy metamorphosed himself into a bead of coral on the necklace which the Rāṇī was wearing. But, not having noticed this, the magician turned himself into a pigeon and swallowed up the grains of rice which the Rāṇī had scattered on the ground. When he did not find the boy among the grains of rice, he changed himself into a Jogi again and, finding the boy on the Rāṇī's necklace, requested her to tear her necklace and scatter the beads thereof on the ground. This she did. Thereupon the Jogi again turned himself into a pigeon and began to pick up the scattered beads. Whereupon the boy changed himself into a cat and hid under the veranda of the Rāṇī's palace. When the pigeon came nearer and nearer, the boy in the guise of the cat pounced on it and, having killed it, ran with its carcase outside. Thereafter assuming his natural shape, the plucked off the bird's head from the carcase, and threw it into a fire, whereupon the Jogi's head was also burnt into ashes. Thereafter the boy returned home to his parents. *

If we study the folk-ballads of Northern and Eastern Bengal, we also find therein evidence which prove that the Bengali magicians of these parts were also adepts in the art of metamor-

* *Vide.* The folktale entitled "*The Boy who Learnt Magic*" in *The Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. By C. H. Bompas; London: David Nutt. 1909. Pages 134-138.

phosing themselves into whatever shapes they liked and that, on some occasions, they engaged themselves in magical conflict with their antagonists. For instance, we find that in that well-known folk-ballad of Northern Bengal—“*The Song of Mayanāmati*” which as composed in the twelfth century A. D., it is narrated that the old queen Mayanāmati carried on a magical conflict with the manager of the King of Death—god Yama—who had taken away the life of her royal husband Manik Chandra. Being bewildered at the queen’s bellicose attitude, Yama turned himself into a carp. Thereupon the queen became a waterfowl and began to strike the carp with her wings. At this, Yama changed himself into a shrimp. Thereupon the queen became a gander and searched out the shrimp under the water. Then Yama, taking the shape of a dove, flew up into the air. On this, the queen became a hawk and chased the dove. After the conflict had been carried on in this fashion for some length of time, Yama changed himself into a Vaishnava ascetic and sat down in an assembly of holy mendicats of that order; then the queen, changing herself into a fly, sat on the ascetic’s head. In this situation, Yama was caught by the queen Mayāmati and became her captive. *

Then again, in a folk-ballad which is chanted by the Musalman peasant-boys of the district of

* *Vide The Folk-Literature of Bengal*, By Dinesh Chandra Sen, B. A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, Pages 14-15.

Pabna and its adjacent parts in Eastern Bengal on the occasion of the festival of Sonarāya, the magical conflict is also referred to. In this ballad No. 6, it is narrated that when Srikrishṇa as Bāṇtai expressed a desire to transform himself into a mustard-seed, his antagonist threatened to change himself into a pigeon and to pick it up with the beak. Thereupon the former expressed a wish to metamorphose himself into a rat. At this, the latter threatened to transform himself into a cat and kill him. (See lines 27-35 of the ballad No. 6). *

Then coming to the North-Eastern Frontiers of India, we find that the "magical conflict" is also mentioned in the folklore of a Mongoloid people, namely, the Ao Nagas. The Ao Nagas, who numbered 30599 souls in the Census of 1921, occupy a portion of the Naga Hills bounded by the Dikhu River on the south-east, the edge of the plains on the north-west, the Konyaks on the north-east; and the Semas and Lhotas on the south-west. This tribe of the Nagas narrate the undermentioned folktale in which the "magical conflict" referred to above takes place under the following circumstances:—

Once upon a time, there lived at Longmitang, a place which is now deserted but was situated near Changki, a man of the name of Nokpoliba who was a great adept in the art of magic. During that time, there dwelt in the plains a merchant who

* *Vide* my paper "On the Cult of Sonarāya in Eastern Bengal" published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. VIII (1922), page 37).

always cheated the Nagas. The latter would bring him cotton in exchange for which he would give them a cow. After they had taken away the cow a little way off, she would change herself into a wild dog and run away. The reason of this was that the cow was not a real cow but that she was the merchant's son in the guise of this beast. It must be stated here that the merchant's son, being a great magician, could take any shape he liked. This sort of cheating went on for a long time. But, [at least, Nakpoblia made up his mind to punish the rascally merchant. So he gathered a basketful of leaves and, by his magical rules, changed the same into cotton and took them to sell to the merchant. After his usual manner, the latter gave Nakpoliba a cow in exchange for the cotton. As soon as Nakpoliba left the shop, the cotton changed into leaves again. At the same time, the cow, turning herself into a Sambar deer, ran away into the forest. Seeing this, Nakpoliba, metamorphosing himself into a red dog, pursued the Sambar deer. For the purpose of eluding the pursuit by Nokpoliba, the stag changed himself into three grains of rice. Not to be outwitted, Nakpoliba turned himself into a dove and swallowed up two of the three grains. The third grain, however, turned into a hawk which killed the dove. In this way, Nakpoliba died, but not in vain, for by eating two out of the three grains of rice, he had so diminished the magical powers of the merchant and of his son that they were thenceforth unable to cheat the Nagas any more.

The story is similar to part of the interminable Thado Story of Dvikampu the magician who was ultimately put to sleep in a cave or hut in very much the same way that Merlin was. He had innumerable contests with another magician, the one turning into a grain of rice, the other into a bird to eat and so forth, like the waslooks in an English folk-song, one of whom turns into a hare, the other into a greyhound to catch her, etc., *

The foregoing Santali, Bengali, Ao Naga and Thado accounts of the "Magical Conflict" are new additions to our knowledge of the subject, as they have been discovered since the publication of Mr. W. A. Clouston's monograph thereupon. * In this work, he has published the results of his study of a large number of examples of the "Magical Conflict" which has been collected from all parts of the world. It will not be out of place to mention here that most famous among these examples is the "Story of the Second Calender" which is to be found in *The Arabian Nights*. The other noteworthy instances are an Italian folktale which is contained in "*The Pleasant Nights of Straparola*", an Austrian and a Danish variants of this tale. Mr. W. A. Clouston says that some metamorphoses of an identical character undergone

* *The Ao Nagas*. By J. P. Mills M. A., I. O. S. London : Macmillan & Company Ltd. 1926. Page 318.

* *Popular Tales and Fictions*. By W. A. Clouston. In two Volumes. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons. 1887. Pages 413-460.

by the contending magicians are to be found in some variants, while other shape-shiftings of a similar nature occur in one or other group of versions. "Thus the transformation into a *horse* occurs in Italian, German, Astrian, second Arabic (she-mule), Norse, Danish, Albanian, Kalmuk and Tamil, the *fish* in the first Arabic, Italian, German, Austrian, Norse, Welsh, Kalmuk and Tamil, the *hare and hound* in the Danish, Welsh and Albanian, the *bird and hawk* in the Norse, Danish, Welsh, Kalmuk and Tamil, the *grain of seed* in the Italian, Austrian and Welsh, the *worm* in the first Arabic and the Tamil, the *ring* in the Italian, Norse and Danish, the *cock and fox* in the Italian, Norse, Albanian and Tamil, the *pursued bird flying in at the palace window* in the Norse, Albanian and Tamil; *into the cell of a devotee* in the Kalmuk; and *in the form of an apple* in the Albanian version". *

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A. B.L.

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I. Page 439.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the Presidential Address of the *Royal Anthropological Institute* published in its *journal* for January to June, 1929, Prof. Dr. J. L. Myers, in speaking of the necessity for establishing an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology referred to the need of a study of Indian Ethnology by Government Officers in India.

In *Man* for May, 1929, Mrs. H. G. Durai contributes an illustrated *Preliminary Note on Geometrical Diagrams (Kolam) from the Madras Presidency*, in which he describes the general features of the geometrical designs traced with a white powder on the ground in front of their houses and inside by Hindu women and girls in Madras. It may be noted that such propitious diagrams are also drawn by Hindu women in other parts of India on occasions of marriage and other religious and socio-religious ceremonies and festivals, although not every day as in Southern India.

In *Man* for July, 1929, K. de B. Codrington contributes a note on *Spirit Possession* in Southern India. He classifies such phenomena into two classes, namely, spirit-possession of the local cult-type and pure Black Magic. He says, "The phenomena of all those cases are strangely uniform;—a member of the household is seized with convulsions or tries to tear off his or her clothes in the street, things move of their own accord or fall from the ceiling; kitchens and utensils are

defiled by filth, and finally clothes in a jar or chest, or the house itself, bursts into flames". "The possibility of such phenomena," Mr. Codrington thinks, "not only arises from superstition, but from an elaborate organisation of accomplices".

In an article on '*The Dramatic Element in Ritual*' contributed in *Folk-Lore* for March 1928, Mr. W. J. Perry, suggests that the symbolism of the four quarters in the grouping of the realm, the capital and the royal palace, found among the aboriginal Pawnee as well as in ancient Peru, Mexico, China and Java is also present in India. "The *Brāhmanas* contain rituals in which the King actually goes through the ceremony of creation of the world, including the four quarters. The Building of the Fire-Altar, the aim of which is to procure immortality for the King, is a creation ceremony. The ritual is preceded by an account of the creation. Then the king, or his priests, proceeds to build up the fire-altar, and this symbolises the creation of the world".

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for April, 1929, Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar contributes an article on *The Sumerian-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins*. He attempts to show that the Sumerians migrated from the Indus region to the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris and there established a highly developed civilization. The Semites had been in occupation of the land long before the Sumerians occupied it, were pushed forward to Arabia and thence spread over Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and came upon

the Hittites in Asia Minor, "enveloped them within their influence" and advanced towards the Euphrates Valley, where "they subjugated the Sumerians and absorbed them in their fold".

"There were thus originally three great parallel streams of culture and civilization prevalent in Western Asia from the fourth to the second millennium B. C., viz., the Sumero-Dravidian, the Semitic and the Hittite-Aryan. Of these, the first, so far as known, was the oldest, the longest and so the weakest; the second proved more mighty and devastating and completely submerged the first, but in doing so, it got itself thoroughly Sumerianized; the third also came very near being swept away by the second, but narrowly escaped destruction, by keeping up a tributary connection with it by confluence and contact up to a certain distance and then emerging out of it as the new parent of the Indo-Iranian and the Indo-Aryan branches. We have thus now a combined delta system of culture and civilization abundant in its germs, luxuriant in its growth, extensive in its influence and rich in its parallels and it is from this cultural blend that we propose to draw parallels for establishing the identities and affinities between the Sumero-Indus civilizations."

In the same number of the Journal as also in the July number, Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, continues his "Studies in Bird-Myths" and "Studies in Plant Myth".

In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (New Series, Vol. XXIV, 1928, no. 1) issued in July, 1928, Mr. William Shaw contributes "Notes on the Thado Kukis" comprising 165 pages and edited by Dr. J. H. Hutton. The 'Notes' cover all important peculiarities and customs of this important tribe scattered in parts of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur State and spread east into Burma in the Chin Hills and Somra Tract. They number about 50,000 souls and though nearly related to the Kachins by origin, the race, according to Dr. J. H. Hutton, "has absorbed many alien elements, probably including Shan, Mon-Khmer and Negrito". [This article has since been published in the form of a separate volume in the series of monographs on Assam tribes published on behalf of the Government of Assam.]

In the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, for 1928, Mr. S. N. Roy, contributes five articles, one on "The Sea in the Folklore of Orissa", another on "The Festivities in Honour of Siva in the month of Chaitra", and a third on "The Witches of Orissa", a fourth on "Oaths, Orders and Curses", and a fifth on "The Conch Shell", Dr. J. J. Modi contributes two articles one on "the Vish-Kanyā or Poison Damsel of Ancient India", and another on "A Few Marriage Songs of the Parsis at Nargol". Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes four articles,—viz., 'Note on the use of Ferns as an Article of Food', 'Note on a Recent Instance of Self-immolation for propitiating a god', 'Note on the Goddessling Maharani, worshipped

by the Bhuiyās of the Hazaribagh District', and 'Notes on the Vāṭh-Deota worshipped by the Hindu Boatmen of Patna'; Mr. R. K. Dadachanji writes an article on 'The Buddhistic Origin of the Worship of Human Guru, etc.', and Mr. K. A. Padhye contributes an article on 'The Story of Samb—the descendent of Sri Krishna—with special reference to the Cure of Leprosy by Sun-Worship'.

This volume also contains reprints from the *Times of India* of two articles headed respectively, 'Ritual of the Monsoon' and 'The Evil of the Foot'.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March & June 1929, Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar contributes some philological 'Dravidian Notes', Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy contributes an article on "The Hos of Chota Nagpur", and Prof. S. C. Mitra contributes 'A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur' and a note on 'The Birhor Folktale of the Wicked Queen type'.

In the May & June numbers of the *Assam Review*, Lt. Col. J. Shakespear continues his 'Lushai Reminiscences'. In the May number of the same journal Mr. E. E. Vickland writes "An Interesting Description of the Bihu Ceromonies".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March, 1929 and June, 1929 Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar continues his philological "Notes on Dravidian".

In the June number of the same journal, Mr. G. Ramdas contributes an article on 'Ravana and his Tribes' and seeks to identify them with the 'Kui-Gond' tribes of the Central Provinces.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The People of the Twilight.—*By Dr. Diamond Jenness. (Macmillan & Co. New York. 1928), PP. XII+245. Price \$ 3. 0. 0. net.*

This fascinating narrative of the author's life for two years among the simple, unsophisticated Eskimos of the Arctic Coast in the vicinity of the Coronation Gulf, will be read by all ethnologists with absorbing interest and by the general reader with considerable delight. It is a pity that not many ethnologists carrying on their researches in various countries have hitherto enriched our ethnological literature with books of this kind to serve as illuminating backgrounds for monographic accounts of the sociology of their inhabitants.

Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya.—*By Paul Schebesta. Translated by Arthur Chambers. (Hutchinson & Co.) PP. 288. Price 21 S. net.*

This is another fascinating narrative of an expedition of anthropological investigation by an accomplished anthropologist among a most interesting primitive people. The importance of the book is immensely enhanced by the fact that the Semangs with whom this volume deals are fast dying out. In the guise of a personal narrative, a large amount of information regarding the life and customs of this most interesting tribe is supplied in this volume. We eagerly look forward to similar

volumes from the author's pen on the Sakais and Jakuns of the Malay Peninsula. The book will be warmly welcomed by all anthropologists and will also greatly interest and delight the general reader.

Wanderings in Wild Australia. *In two volumes.*
By, Sir Baldwin Spencer, K. C. M. G., F. R. S.
(Macmillan and Co., London, 1928). PP. XXVIII+
XIV+930. Price 42 S. net.

This is another and a more expensive work of the kind noticed above. This long and full narrative of this veteran ethnologist's four expeditions between the years 1894 and 1926, into regions and among tribes until then practically unknown, his acquaintance with the late F. J. Gillen soon ripening into friendship and intimate collaboration which has been productive of most valuable results in anthropological research, their wanderings among the Blackfellows of Central and Northern Australia and those of Melville and Bathurst Islands and the Alligator River country,—all this is replete with an interest more fascinating to the anthropologist than any book of romance. Books like these give a more realistic picture of the life of the people and a more vivid insight into the workings of their minds than scientific monographs of the tribes, and thus form useful aids to a better appreciation of the data recorded in the scientific monographs dealing with the tribes in question.

Asoka [Gaekwad Lectures.]—*By Radha Kumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D., (Macmillan & Co. London, 1928). PP. XII+273. Price 21 S. net.*

Students of Indian History will find this up-to-date and well-written text-book on the life and times of Asoka and the achievements of that great Indian monarch, very helpful. A special feature of the book is the collection of the texts of the Asokan Edicts and their translation and interpretation which occupy more than half the volume.

Creation by Evolution.—*Edited by Frances Mason. (Macmillan Company. New York. 1918.) PP. XX+392. Price 21 S. net.*

The book purports to be "a consensus of present day knowledge as set forth by leading authorities in non-technical language that all may understand". The judgment of some leading biologists of the English-speaking world concerning our present knowledge of how living things in Nature come about, is set forth in a number of chapters or essays in each of which its author gives an independent record of research in his particular field. Though studying from many different points, these leading scientists all find that creation is a gradual process of transformation or evolution, each condition being the outcome, according to natural laws of things preceding. The book begins with or foreward by Dr. H. F. Osborne, (President of the American Museum of Natural History) and

an *Introduction* by Sir Charles Scott Sherrington (retiring President of the Royal Society). Then follow 24 papers by as many leading scientists. These are :— *Evolution—Its Meaning*, by Dr. D. S. Jordan ; *Why We Must be Evolutionists*, by Dr. J. A. Thomson ; *Can we see Evolution Occurring*, by Dr. H. S. Jennings ; *Vestigial Organs*, by Dr. G. H. Parker ; *Evolution as Shown by the Advancement of the Individual Organism*, by Dr. E. W. Macbride ; *Embryology and Evolution*, by Dr. E. G. Couklin ; *The Geographical Distribution of Animals*, by Dr. W. B. Scott ; *The Record of the Rocks*, by Dr. F. A. Bather ; *The Nature of Species*, by Dr. J. W. Gregory ; *The Progression of the Earth*, by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward ; *The Evolution of Plants*, by Dr. C. S. Gager ; *The Story told by Fossil Plants*, by Prof. E. W. Berry ; *Buttreflies and Moths as Evidence of Evolution*, by Dr. E. B. Poulton ; *Evolution of the Bee and the Beehive*, by Sir Arthur Everett Shipley. *The Evolution of Ants*, by Dr. W. M. Wheeler ; *The Evolution of Horse and the Elephant*, by Dr. F. B. Loonies ; *Evolution of the Bird*, by Dr. D. M. S. Watson ; *Connecting and Missing Links in the Ascent to man*, by Dr. R. S. Lull ; *The Lineage of Man*, by Dr. W. K. Gregory ; *The Human Side of Apes*, by Dr. S. J. Holmes ; *The Evolution of the Brain*, by Dr. G. Elliot Smith ; *Progress Shown in Evolution*, by Prof. J. S. Huxley ; *Mind in Evolution*, by Dr. C. L. Morgan ; and *Cumulative Evidence for Evolution*, by Dr. H. H. Newman.

As Dr. Newman points out in the concluding essay, "The principle of evolution is so well established by the amassed evidence derived from every field of science that it has come to be regarded in scientific circles as one of the great laws of nature, ranking with the law of gravitation in scope and validity. Evolution no more takes God out of the universe than does gravitation. Both these great principles are mere manifestations of the grand strategy of Nature. They indicate the methods used by the ruling power back of the universe. The theory of evolution, as has often been said, does not deny creation; it merely explains the method of creation". And in explaining. Why we must be evolutionists, Dr. J. A. Thomson, very pertinently points out :—

1. "The evolution-idea gives the world of animate nature a new unity. All living creatures are part [and parcel of a great system that has moved sublimely from less to more. All animals are blood-relations; there is Kinship throughout animate nature.

2. It is indeed a sublime picture that the evolutionist discloses a picture of an advancement of life by continuous natural stages, without haste, yet without rest. No doubt there have been blind alleys, side-tracks, lost races, parasitisms, and retrogressions, but *on the whole* there has been something like what man calls progress. If that word is too "human" we must invent another.

3. One of the greatest facts of organic evolution—a fact so great that it is often not realised at all—is that there has been not merely an increase in complexity but a growing dominance of mind in life. Animals have grown in intelligence, in mastery of their environment, in fine feeling, in kin-sympathy, in freedom, and in what we may call the higher satisfactions".

As regards the Evolution of mankind, Dr. Thomson points out,—“No evolutionist believes that man sprang from any living kind of ape, yet none can hesitate to believe in his emergence—“a new creation”—from a stock common to the anthropoid apes and to the early “tentative men”. Long ago there was a parting of the ways—it could not be less than a million years ago that the anthropoids remained arboreal and the ancestors of the men we know became terrestrial. So far as we can judge from links that are certainly not missing, but always increasing in number, there were for long ages only tentative men like *Pithecanthropus* the Erect, in Java, and *Eoanthropus*, the Piltdown man of the Sussex Weald. Even these were rather collateral offshoots than beings on the main line of man’s ancestry. They were Hominids, but not yet *Homo*. What trials and siftings there seem to have been before there appeared “the man-child glorious”! Doubtless some great brain change led to clearer self-consciousness, to language, to a power of forming general ideas, to greater uprightness of body and mind; and it is very important to realise that a steady advance in brain development, on a line different from that of other mammals, is discernible in the very first monkeyish animals. Man stands apart and is in important ways unique, but he was not an abruptly created novelty. That is not the way in which evolution works. Man, at his best, is a flower on a shoot that has very deep roots. What the evolutionist discloses is man’s solidarity, his kinship with the rest of creation. And the encouragement we find in this disclosure is twofold. In the first place, though we inherit some coarse strands from pre-human pedigree, it is an *ascent* not a *descent* that we see behind us. In the second place, the evolutionist world is congruent with religious interpretation. It is a world in which the religious man can breathe freely. To take one example: there are great trends discernible in organic evolution, and the greatest of these are toward health and beauty, toward the love of mates, parental care, and family affection, toward self-subordination and kin-sympathy; toward clear-headedness and healthy-mindedness, and the momen-

tum of these trends is with us at our best. And evolution, with these great trends, is going on: Who shall set its limits"?

Although the scholar will not find anything that is new in this collection of essays, the book supplies in a handy and popular form a good deal of information about the evolutionary process. The book will form a welcome addition to the library of every man of culture.

Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan.—
By Albert von Le Cog. Translated by Anna Barwell (George Allen & Union. London 1928). PP. 179. Price 18 S. net.

In this volume, Dr. Von Le Cog gives an extremely interesting account of the activities and adventures of the second and third of the four German expeditions carried out under his leadership by the orders of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin between the years 1902 and 1914. In the Introductory Chapter, the author refers to previous expeditions of Russian, English, French and Japanese explorers and points out that although "the results of these expeditions supplement each other in the most gratifying way", "yet it must be recognized that the Berlin collection (of artistic and literary treasures) is the best adapted for the study of the developments shown by Buddhist art on its way through Central Asia to China". Numerous Sanskrit manuscripts discovered by this expedition throw much fresh light on our knowledge of Buddhism;

great quantities of liturgical works of the Nestorian-Syrian Church in the Syrian tongue were found, and also many manuscripts dealing with Nestorian Christianity in the Sogdian tongue. In the Turfan oasis a great part of the Manichæan literature which had entirely disappeared from other countries, viz. North Africa, South Europe, and Western Asia where the Manichæan religion had spread in earlier times was at last brought to light. This literature is written in Middle Persian and other Iranian dialects, especially the Sogdian, and contains important information concerning the remarkable religion of the Manichæans. The learned author very rightly remarks, "*Here a New Land* was found, Instead of a land of the Turks, which the name Turkestan lead us to expect, we discovered that, up to the middle of the eighth century, everywhere along the silk-roads there had been nations of Indo-European speech, Iranians, Indians and even Europeans. Their languages, some only known by name and others not at all, were found in numbers of manuscripts. They were all deciphered in Berlin, translated and dealt with in a scientific way. The number of such manuscripts is exceedingly great, and there are no less than seventeen different languages in twenty-four different scripts amongst them."

The book is one of great interest to the student of ethnology and archæology, and is illustrated by a number of excellent photographs.

Worlds Within Worlds.—*By Stella Benson* (Macmillan. 1928), PP. VIII+310. Price 8 S. 6 d. net.

The handy volume before us is a collection of vivid impressionist sketches of the author's travels in America, the West Indies, China, Yunnan, Korea, Manchuria, Japan, Mongolia. The book is replete with humour and felicity of expression. The book does not enter into a connected description the peoples and places visited, but gives the reader pleasing glimpses of certain things and situations that impressed the author. The book will be found quite entertaining reading during one's leisure hours.

The British in Tropical Africa. An Historical Outline.—*By Ifor S. Evans.* (Cambridge-University Press. 1929). PP. IX+396. Price 12 S. 6 d. net.

This book gives a good summary of the history of the African Dependencies of Great Britain as a whole. As a historical background for the study of the present-day native tribes of British Africa, the book will be useful to the ethnologist and sociologist.

On Alexander's Track to the Indus.—*By Sir Aurel Stein, K. C. I. E.* (Macmillan. 1929). PP. 16+182. Price 21 S. net.

We have in this volume a fascinating narrative

of the explorations of that gifted archæologist, Sir Aurel Stein, in the valley of the Swat, on the North-West Frontier of India in March-May, 1926. The main object of the author's tour of exploration was to follow up the track of the great Macedonian conquerer Alexander in his conquering expedition in 327 B. C. into this region which culminated in the memorable capture of Aornos which our author succeeded in locating on Pir-sar. In the local features of Pir-sar and its environs, the author recognised all the topographical details of Aornos as they appear from the account of Alexander's siege. The author also finds topographical, archæological and philological reasons to locate in the Swat valley several fortified towns such as Ora, Bazira and 'Massage'—which the great Macedonian conqueror besieged and captured during his memorable expedition. The valley of Swat, though now inhabited by Pathan clans, was formerly held by people of Dard stock and language, of whom the author found remnants still living in Terwal, the alpine portion of the Badshahs territory. Sir Aurel Stein identifies the ancient Sanskrit name 'Udiyana' (garden) as that of the Swat valley, and the name 'Ude' or 'Udegram' with the name of Ora, which he localises on a hill about the village of Udegram. The author collected specimens of the two Dardic tongues still spoken in Swat Kohistan and also some anthropological data the publication of which will be eagerly awaited by students. The author's interesting description of the ruins of Buddhist monuments is enriched by excellent

illustrations. The author's delightful method of casting the scientific account of his researches in the form of an entertaining book of travels adds to the great interest of the volume.

Gotama the Man— *By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids., D. Litt., M. A. (Lncz Acad. 1929) PP. 302. Price 45. net.*

It was an eminently happy idea of the author to adopt the antobiographical form in depicting the Buddha as he lived on this earth—“a man alive to this world as needing help”, who “looked upon men’s warfaring in the worlds as a very true thing, believed in the help a man might bring men about that if he were true in word”. The author declares that “men did not honour in him “the more-than-man”. They loved him as the helper, the warder of them, as one who respected each man, woman and child for that which was central in each “the Man.” The author found that “this man and his message are much smothered in the records handed down first orally and then scripturally by the monastic vehicle known as the Sangha. It is difficult now to get a true idea of either.” And so she makes the Man-Gotama-himself, as a living man, tell in this book his message, as well as of all that tended to produce the super-growth which must be rubbed off to show the truer things that lie beneath. The gifted author has we think succeeded well in her

attempt. And the book will, we hope, be of great help in removing some of the erroneous ideas about the life and teachings of the Buddha from the minds of many a reader.

The Primitive Church, Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry.—By *Burnett Hillman Streeter* (*Macmillan, Londnn 1929*). PP. XII+312. Price 8. S. 6 d. net.

In this book the author gives us in clear non-technical language a general introduction to the history and literature of the first hundred years of Christianity. During those years the Church was a living and growing institution, changing its organisation to meet changing needs. In the Primitive Church, our author shows, there was no single system of Church Order laid down by the Apostles. In Asia, Syria and Rome during that century the system of government varied from Church to Church, and in the same Church at different times. Uniformity, our author concludes from a review of the historical evidence, was a later development which arose as a necessary development out of a primitive diversity in Christian institutions.

In the Primitive Church, our author shows, there was no one system of Church order, but everywhere there was readiness to experiment, and, where circumstances seemed to demand it, to change. The disunion among present-day

Christians all over the world—more especially in India, China, and Africa—is generally regarded as a “force of weakness amid surrounding paganism. The author believes that ill-considered attempts at premature reunion may hinder rather than advance the cause, and he suggests that “the line of advance for the Church of to-day is not to imitate the forms, but to recapture the spirit, of the Primitive Church.” “The first Christians” our author points out, “achieved what they did, because the spirit with which they were inspired was one favourable to experiment”.

Italy Before the Romans.—By *David Randall-MacIver*. (*Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1928*). PP. 159. Price 6 S. net.

In this book the author seeks with the help of archæology to give a picture of the life of Italian peoples who were the forerunners, of the Romans and had completely civilized Italy before its conquest by Rome. “Before the Roman domination, Etruria, Venetia Lombardy, Picenum and perhaps even Apulia, had each evolved its independent and very valuable culture. And at the same time the whole of the South from Naples to Brindisi had been civilized by the spread of Corinthian and Ionic art,...The houses of Etruscans and Venetians, Capuans and Cumæans were full of objects of art and luxury of which the very names were unknown to the Romans”. The

task that fell to the Romans was to organize and administer the country. The race-elements in the south and east of Italy were determined as early as the Neolithic Age, and over a great part of the country they have remained unchanged. But the north and west have been profoundly affected by a series of immigrations and invasions since the beginning of the Bronze age. A variety of the Mediterranean Race now known as the Ibero-Ligurians crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and permanently settled some thousand years before Christ in Northern and Central Italy and formed its aboriginal population. Another branch of the Mediterranean Race also with a neolithic culture differing in minor points, whom the author terms the Siculans, entered Italy by way of Sicily. There is a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that the Neolithic Italians entertained considerable trade relations with the outside world extending even beyond the Alps. It was during the second millennium B. C. that in North Italy and on the west of the Appennines, the Neolithic race was subdued by invaders of wholly different origins, but yet the Neolithic race remained a by no means negligible element, whereas in the South of Naples the Mediterranean Race has always remained not only the principal but the only factor in the population. With the appearance in the north-west corner of Italy of an entirely new people of lake-dwellers apparently over-flowing from the nearer parts of Switzerland

the Neolithic age in Italy is superseded a little before 2000 B. C. by the Chalcolithic Age, and by about 1700 B. C. by the full Bronze Age which is generally associated with the far more important immigration from beyond the Alps popularly known as the Terramara people but called by the author as the Proto-Italici, who differed from the Ibero-Ligurians in many respects, particularly in their burial practice which consisted of cremation and depositing the ashes in large jars. At the close of the Bronze Age, which may be placed about the thirteenth century, B. C., Italy had, beside sharing in most of the benefits of European commerce, made a distinct position for herself as an independent manufacturing country. The Proto-Italici not only introduced metallurgy but agriculture and stock-breeding into Italy; Dug-outs were already in use. In the course of 200 years preceding 1000 B. C. there were probably fresh invasions of Italy from tribes coming from beyond the Alps. These Iron Age invaders of Italy also came from Central Europe and were of the same general stock as the Proto-Italici, and the latter as well as their culture came to be entirely absorbed by the former. Thus in the the tenth century before Christ, there are two and only two race-stocks, the cremating peoples west of the line from Rianui to Rome, and the burying peoples east and south of that line. The Villonavans are the most important of all the Iron Age peoples in Italy, except the Etruscans, who followed them in the ninth century. Besides the

Villonavans, (Northern and Sothern) and two other groups of cremating tribes, viz., Alestines and Comacenes who entered Italy about the same time, it is possible to identify three groups of survivors from the old aboriginal stock, viz. Picones, Apulians and Seculans. To these six must be added a seventh, viz. the Etruscans who came in from the Asia Minor at the end of ninth century and were the most important of all the factors which contributed to the civilization of Italy down to 400 B. C. The author has described the Etruscans and their works in an earlier volume. In the succeeding chapters of the present volume the author tries to show how much each of the other six groups achieved in its own particular sphere, and how much each contributed to the permanent development of the country.

The book, though intended for the general reader, is full of interest for the serious student as well. The author's inferences generally appear to be borne out by the results of past researches. The book is illustrated by some plates and a map.

The Child in Primitive Society.—By Nathan Miller. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. London. 1928). PP. 307. Price 12 S. 6 d. net.

This book forms one of the volumes of the *Library of Educational Psychology* series published by Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. under the editorship of Prof. C. K. Ogden. The

author confines his attention in this volume to an interpretation of the primitive origins of education. As a result of his inquiry he finds the position of the child in a simple culture to be that of the perpetuating organ of society. "Through the conformity of the child the continuity of the child is assured. To secure this most desired goal the primitive man resorts to the employment of such elaborate and convincing usages as initiation rites. It is not, however, the conscious wish of the parents and elders to perpetuate the mores as such, but rather the natural inclination to preserve peace and comfort and prosperity for themselves in this life and in the spirit-world to come. To accomplish this the child must be duly impressed and his behaviour demonstrably conditioned for this leading purpose". The author thinks that the prevailing curricula and the spirit underlying our modern educational systems still contains much of this "primitive" element in education; and he urges that "in the light of reason, at least, it is time that this pressure making for conformity and perpetuation of outworn symbols should be replaced by a desire to allow the child to express *himself* and perpetuate *himself* by the development of *his* individuality".

Although we do not agree with Dr. Miller in thinking that marriage is "essentially an economic tie", we highly appreciate the patient industry and discrimination with which the author has collated and marshalled a considerable amount

of valuable data dealing with every aspect of child life in primitive society.

An Introduction to the Study of Society: An outline of Primary Factors and Fundamental Institutions. By *Prof. Frank H. Hankins* (New York Macmillan Company, 1928) PP. XIII + 760 Price \$ 4-00.

This volume which, the author tells us in the Preface, is intended to serve as a text-book in sociology, really deals with social anthropology rather than sociology proper. The author begins with a discussion of the pitfalls of bias in the way of attaining scientific objectivity with reference to social problems. This is followed by two chapters on physical anthropology, viz., the origin and antiquity of Man, and the Races of Man. Then follow chapters on the causative factors which give rise to social forms and institutions. These chapters are headed, 'The Physiographic Factors in Social Life', 'The Biological Factors in Social Life', 'The Psychological Factors in Social Life', 'The Psychological Basis of Social Life', and 'The Cultural Factor in Social Life.' Having examined and discussed the primary factors operating in social life, the author proceeds in the last four chapters of the book to study "four aspects of the organization whereby a society solves the problems of its common life, viz. 'Material culture', 'Myth, Magic, Religion and Society', 'Marriage and the Family', and 'Social organization and Integration'.

It is unfortunate that author's data are in some instances out of date, and several careless and inaccurate and even incorrect statements have crept into the book. Another serious blemish of the book is the class bias and racial bias of the author with regard to the alleged superiority of Whites over Coloured races, and the supposed superiority in innate ability of the economically prosperous classes.

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Note.

With reference to his article on "*South Indian Christians*" in the last issue of this journal, Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer desires to make an acknowledgment and writes:—

"The first few pages of this article are from the pen of the late Rev. Dr. Tabard. I asked him to prepare an article on the Church history of Mysore. He told me that he prepared one for the recent Mysore Gazetteer under preparation. I got it from the Gazetteer Officer. Three copies were prepared, one of which was sent to *Man in India*. I should have added a foot-note to this effect, as I thought I would leisurely do. When I sent the article, I forgot all about it. Please insert a note in your next number that it was a case of forgetfulness due to oversight."

Editor.

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Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion*, and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

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The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

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of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on *the Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on "*the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore, July, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota-Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume.

The work is full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

N. B.

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SOME OPINIONS.

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.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities as mark your former monographs on the **Mundas** and **Oraons**. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen of a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

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.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indian Ethnology.....

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.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and all anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine it would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London : September 19, 1925) :—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study, a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture.....Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan ; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

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It is a work of great interest and high value as a full and accurate description of an Indian Hill-tribe. I congratulate you on having produced it. You must have given much time and labour to the researches which you have embodied in this book. But the time and labour have been well spent. The description seems extremely clear and well written in the simple language which is appropriate to the theme, and the translations of the poetry are charming.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. IX. } DECEMBER, 1929. { No. 4.

I. ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE CHEROS.

By

D. D. AGARWAL, M. A.

(Communicated by Prof. D. N. Majumdar, M. A., P. R. S.)

[The Cheros are a Dravidian tribe inhabiting the south of the Mirzapur District in the United Provinces. In the Census of 1891, the total Chero population numbered 4,811—and the Census of 1911 recorded 5,933 souls. There is no separate mention of the Cheros in the Census of 1921 which shows that the rapid disintegration in the manners, customs and traditions of the people has made it possible to group the Cheros with the Hindu population of the neighbourhood. In this article the author describes the present day religious beliefs of the Cheros, whom he studied for some time as a research student in the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University.]

Idea about creation.

In the beginning there was all water with a lotus (*kamal*) flower blooming over it. One day

God (*Bhagwan*) who was then living in the Nether (*Patal lok*) lands came up to the surface on the back of the tortoise. He then commanded the tortoise to bring some clay from the nether lands, himself resting on the lotus flower in the meanwhile. The tortoise went to bring the clay and started with a heap on its back. But all the clay was washed off by the water in the course of the journey, so much so that by the time he came to the surface he had nothing left to offer to God. Thereupon God commanded the rat to get some clay, but it too failed in its duty. God being annoyed at the fruitless efforts of two of his servants asked his personal servant *Garur* (the great eagle) to fly somewhere and get clay. The vulture flew and brought some clay in its mouth from heaven which he delivered to God. God pressed it in his hand and then threw a portion of it in each of the four directions. And forthwith there arose on the surface of the water a four sided land mass. And thus was formed this earth of ours.

Idea about God.

God is a being whom nobody has seen. He resides in heaven and like a ruler looks after the general comforts of those underneath. Idea about size, shape and general features of God are very vague. Some think that God is of the shape of man but His size is bigger than that of his. Others seem to think that He is an old man working on his wheel like a pot maker. God governs the Universe through his agents like

an Emperor governing a kingdom through his Viceroys. There are under-Gods appointed by God to control and regulate each one of the behaviours of man. There is the God of love to control and regulate man's sexual instinct. There is the God of Death, who regulates the span of a man's life and so on. It must be noted in this connection that the idea of God is intimately connected with the Chero idea of Government. An enquiry into the traditions and history of the Cheros shows that this people were once rulers and great empire builders.

They have thus got their own idea of Government as it ought to be.

Idea about soul.

The Cheros believe soul to be a sort of gas, which when taken out leaves the body dead. Nobody has ever seen the gas. A man is supposed to be possessed of two souls, one static and the other dynamic. The dynamic soul may leave the body for some time, but static soul cannot leave it, unless they intend to desert the body for ever. These two souls remain united in life and death and when they finally leave their present embodiment are incarnated together in a new body.

Idea about death.

A man's span of life is apportioned by the Almighty at the time of his birth. The total number of breaths can neither be increased nor decreased. When the total number that has fallen to one's share is finished he dies. The duty to call back a man after he has lived his span of

life is arrogated to *Jamaraj* or the God of Death. He sends his celestial messengers to fetch the soul and present it before him. He takes into account his good and bad actions (*Karmas*) during life-time and settle his due share of hell and heaven. The soul is finally taken before the Almighty to formally receive judgment.

Idea about hell and heaven.

Hell is believed to be the damned prison of God which abounds in miseries. Its very name is disgusting, its sight believed to be dreadful and its life one of continuous pain, torture and hardship. Dreadful demons are believed to guard this prison, so that nobody might escape. On the other hand Heaven is believed to be the celestial residence of God, the home of all pleasures. It is a resort of only a fortunate few. All that is believed to be bad is appropriated to hell, while heaven is believed to be an ideal place, abounding in all they lack.

Doctrine of Karma.

The Cheros are great believers in the doctrine of Karma but in a modified form. A man's actions in the present life have got a bearing not upon his future life but upon his short term of residence with the God. As soon as a soul leaves the body, it is given its due share of pain and pleasure on the basis of its past actions. After it has borne the consequences—good or bad—of its actions, it is again sent out into the world to reincarnate itself. The wrong doers are sent to hell, the damned prison of God, to atone

for their past deeds. This is no more than a solace to the injured party. The injustice in this world is sought to be remedied by the cosmic justice in the world beyond. If a man undergoes some pains in this world he bears them uncomplainingly in the hope of being compensated by the pleasures of Heaven after life.

Dreams.

The idea of double soul has been invented to explain dream, the real cause being not known to anybody. It is believed that when a man dreams the temporary soul goes out to visit men and places of its liking leaving the static soul to watch the body. So long as the temporary soul does not return from its travels the body is said to be sleeping, and as soon as anybody wakes it up, the static soul communicates the message to its dynamic partner. The soul returns back and the human being gets up. But in case, the wandering soul has been imprisoned in the course of its travels by the messengers of the God of Death, the static soul being tired of waiting also leaves, leaving the body dead. Some other causes are also attributed. If a man while sleeping takes his hand to his heart a dream results. If a woman forgets to make the promised sacrifices, the annoyed spirits present themselves in dream. If a man feels thirsty his soul goes out in search of water to quench its thirst and a dream of wells, rivers and streams is the result. Sometimes the evil spirits are also believed to appear in dreams threatening the person.

Belief in dreams.

It is not uncommon to find people believing in the authenticity of dreams specially the morning ones. Ghastly and horrifying scenes in the dream are believed to be the fore-runners of some great calamity. People have often been found making necessary preparations to meet the calamity. Below are given some of the dreams with their probable consequences.

(1) If a man dreams of rivers, streams, wells or rain, it portends that there will be an outbreak of fire in the village and if he dreams of fire, there will be rain or flood in the adjoining river.

(2) If a man dreams of some monetary present being made to him he will undergo some loss and if he dreams of some monetary loss he will get some money on the day following.

(3) If a man dreams of a snake it portends that some member of the family will die. It is a firm conviction that snake appears in dream only when some death is likely to occur in the family.

(4) If a Chero dreams of a snake, biting him or her and blood coming out, it is believed to be very propitious.

(5) If a Chero dreams of a buffalo, elephant or some other black animal or thing, it portends that some misfortune is likely to fall upon him.

(6) If a man dreams of trees and forests, he will gain something on the day following.

(7) To dream of the death or the funeral of some human being augurs the death of some animal in chase.

(8) If a man dreams of sweets he will tread upon human excrement the following day.

(9) If a man dreams of human excreta he will get sweets the following day.

(10) If a man dreams of failure in hunting it will rain the following day.

(11) If a man dreams of ill-success in a wood-cutting expedition success will follow in it.

(12) If a Chero dreams of a Baiga making sacrifices to some spirit he concludes that the particular spirit is annoyed with him, due to his failure to make some promised sacrifice.

(13) To dream of a cow or an ox foretells the prosperity of the man in the coming harvest.

(14) To dream of a horse augurs the coming of the money-lender to exact interest from the poor victim.

(15) If one dreams of a cloudy sky he will meet with a clear sky on the day following and conversely if he dreams of clear sky, he will meet with a cloudy morning.

(16) If a man dreams of a man divorcing his wife, a marriage is shortly to come in his family, conversely, if a man dreams of a marriage apart from other consequences, he will shortly divorce his wife.

(17) If a man dreams of a flood in some river he will have plenty of liquor to drink.

(18) If a man dreams of a bird (*bulbul*) a birth is likely to occur in his family.

Omens.

Like all other superstitious people, Cheros believe in certain omens :—

(1) If a crow is seen sitting on the doorway, a guest is expected in the family.

(2) If a peacock is seen spreading its wings in the sun, rain is expected.

(3) If a vulture alights on the roof of a Chero's hut, fever or death is apprehended.

(4) If a snake is seen, some dire calamity is expected.

(5) If jackals are heard roaring in the vicinity of the village, some epidemic is expected to visit the village.

(6) If a man sees a heap of human excreta, it is considered to be very propitious.

(7) If a man meets with empty vessels while going out, ill-success is forecasted.

(8) If somebody sneezes, the time of five minutes after it is considered to be very inauspicious.

(9) If a party while proceeding in some expedition meets with a funeral procession or a corpse, the expedition will meet with success.

(10) If a child weeps too much in the day, it will have a quiet sleep in the night.

(11) If a man while going out for some work is questioned by somebody as to where and what for he is going, ill-success will follow him in his undertaking.

(12) If a cultivator while going to sow his field meets with a pig, agricultural forecast is doomed.

(13) If a pregnant woman meets with a barren woman, it is apprehended that her child will be either still born or die shortly after birth.

(14) If the animal to be sacrificed somehow or other escapes from being slaughtered it is considered to be very auspicious and the object for which the sacrifice was to be offered will be accomplished.

Ordeals.

Like all primitive people the Cheros believe in ordeals to prove the truth of any statement. It is not uncommon to find people being put to severe ordeals by the caste Panchayat to test the truth of what they say. Ordeals are resorted to, to test the chastity of a woman or the legitimacy of a child or the innocence of a man from association with mischievous spirits. In each case, the man or woman is asked to remain outside the hut in the night without any weapon of offence or defence. If he is found quite safe in the morning the truth of his statement is unquestioned. But if he happens to catch cold or to meet with any untoward event, he is condemned. The ordeals of fire and water are no longer in vogue, but there are still people living who remember the days when a man was thrown into a flooded river to test his innocence, or a woman suspected of practising witch-craft made to stand in the water of a river throughout a cold night to prove the ignorance of the craft. A woman who was charged of adultery was required to prove it otherwise, by

holding fire in her hand for some time. Sometimes she is thrown into a well and if the water of the well dried up, she would be guiltless if otherwise she would at once be taken out, but condemned for her actions.

Oaths.

Oaths are similarly taken to prove the truth of what one says. If false, they are believed to be causing the death of the one, in whose favour they were taken. A woman charged with adultery is asked to catch the hand of her child who is most dear and near to her and proclaim that she is chaste. If she is in fact unchaste, some bodily injury will result to her child.

Rain.

It is believed that *Indar* (God of rain) Maharaj has got a great store of water near his residence. Whenever his devotees request for water or whenever he is ordered by God to bestow rain on the Earth, he fills a jar of water out of the tanks and pours the water through a sieve. This comes to the earth in the form of rain. Whenever rain water is required the women of the village go to the fields and worship an image of *Indar* made of cow dung and burn an oil lamp. The smoke is supposed to communicate the message and in compliance with their wishes, God sends forth torrents of rain. But at the time when the crop is ready rain is undesirable and to stop it the Baiga takes a jar of rain-water, puts some corn and buries it in a hole dug in the fields. This is supposed to be a sure remedy to stop rain.

Rainbow.

Rainbow is supposed to be the bow of the God, who comes out of his celestial home to see the fruits of his rains on the earth blow. As soon as a rainbow is seen in the sky women come out of their huts and worship it by throwing rice, gur and flowers towards it,

Lightning.

It is believed to be the sword of *Indra*, which he strikes against the clouds which hinder his torrents from falling on the ground.

Storms.

Storms are caused when God is angry with his devotees. They are believed to be the servants of God, walking upon air who have been sent to uproot the trees and do other damage by way of punishment. The village Baiga is called to make the necessary sacrifices to appease the angry God and the ferocity of the storm.

Mountains.

When God created Earth it was moist and uneven. He began to level the earth with a leveller. In the process of levelling the surface of the land, earth came to be heaped up at places and these heaps became the hills and mountains and the level lands the valleys.

Solar and Lunar eclipses.

The Chero seeks to explain the causation of these two natural phenomena like all others by the theories of his own creation. The Sun and the Moon

both stood security for the debts of the Cheros.* Now the Cheros failed to repay their debts and the creditors often send their men to catch hold of these two luminaries and exact the money. A regular fight ensues between the servants of the creditors and the sureties and sometimes they are overshadowed and the result is an eclipse. During eclipse the Cheros distribute alms to the poor, praying for the victory of their heroes.

Such are in brief the religious and the so-called superstitious beliefs of these people. Most of these beliefs are indeed crude and betray a profound ignorance of the processes of nature and the causes of phenomena.

Festivals.

We now pass on to a description of the different festivals, which the Cheros observe throughout the year. It will be noticed that these festivals are intimately connected with agriculture because they are held at a time when the people have their granaries full. The zeal depends upon the success of agriculture. It is the only time when the people have got anything to spend upon recreations, otherwise their life is that of a hand-to-mouth existence.

(1) *Fagua or Holi*. As to the festivals we may begin with *Fagua or Holi*, which comes off on the last day of the year and the first day of the new year. The Hindu year which the Cheros observe begins in the month of March and this festival is generally held in this month. It is

* S. C. Roy. *The Bishors*. p. 495.

firstly a send off to the old year and secondly a welcome to the New Year. It may also be allied with agricultural harvest because it is the time when the Rabi crop is harvested. Thus religion and recreation are joined in one and the same festival—which therefore is by far the most important of all social festivals. A place somewhere in the village round a Rendi tree is fixed by the youngsters and a huge pile of wood and the rubbish of the village is raised round it. At night just after sunset fire is set to it. In the morning everybody puts a mark of the burnt ashes on his forehead and the whole day is spent in merry-making. The children of the village sprinkle coloured water by means of a wooden syringe, the young and the old besmear their friends' faces with coloured powder. In the night, a grand Karma dance is arranged, in which all the members of the village participate. Liquor is served to all those taking part in the dance. This may continue for days, but the season being very busy due to the rabi harvest, it is usually finished in a day's time. This festival has been borrowed from the Hindu neighbours.

Chait. Some festivals are celebrated only by the women folk. Men do not partake in them. Chait is one of those festivals in which only the women of the village take part. It is held in the month of April, shortly after the Holi festival. Throughout the day, the women observe fast, in the evening all meet together and go to the adjoining stream. In a joyous and frivolous mood they take their bath and when all have

finished, prayers are offered to the river God for the safety and preservation of their children. As the rivers are fordable during most part of the year and people have got to cross them very often in the course of their daily work, they are a source of danger specially in the rainy season. Thus the worship of the water God is necessary, at least once a year. After the worship all return to their respective home, take their food and go to bed.

Chait Nawmi. The festival coming just after the Chait festival is observed in honour of the Jala Mukhu Devi.

The Devi is believed to be the spirit presiding over epidemics and this festival is observed in her honour to ward off diseases from the village. The temple of the Devi is to be found in most of the villages in the midst of fields. On the festival day a buffalo is sacrificed to propitiate the Devi to maintain the peace of the village.

Nag Panchmi. We now come to an important festival of the Cheros. It comes off in the latter half of the month of July. It is not associated with snake worship as the name may suggest. It is primarily meant to propitiate the spirit presiding over cattle for the latter is the most valuable possession of the villagers. On the day of the festival, the cow is given complete rest. It is not milked, the horns are painted with red lead, and smeared with ghee; the best possible straw and oilcake are served to it. It is perhaps one of those few days when it gets sufficient fodder otherwise throughout the greater portion of

the year, it is underfed. Bullocks are similarly not used for ploughing. Recreation follows suit. Men, women and children enjoy to their heart's content, while dance is arranged in the night.

Karma. It is a general term for dance which is a common form of recreation for these people. But it is particularly named after a festival, held in the month of September. Men and women both fast throughout the day; in the evening everybody takes the best dinner he can afford, but the country liquor forms an important ingredient of the dinner. The usual dance is arranged which goes on throughout the night.

Jiyotiya. Shortly after Karma we find another festival of the Cheros. The festivals come one after another in rapid succession. On the Jiyotiya day, *Gauriya Ganesh* is worshipped. Both men and women observe fast throughout the day, in the evening they take their bath in the neighbouring stream. The image of Gauriya made of cow dung is placed in the centre of the village and all the members of the community irrespective of rank worship the God. The idol is worshipped with oil, rice and turmeric paste. The elders of the tribe take their chance first and the younger follow suit. After the worship the usual dinner is taken. We do not hear much of dance in this festival.

Anant. Anant festival comes off on the twelfth day after Jiyotiya. Anant is the name of their God of peace and prosperity. He is worshipped to bring prosperity to the village and as such it

is again a festival, celebrated by all the villagers jointly. In the centre of the village the idol of *Anant*, made of cowdung, is placed and at midday the usual worship is performed with oil, rice and turmeric paste. Till then all the villagers have got to fast and any violation of this rule is severely punished by the tribal *panchayat* because that means an infringement of the tribal rules. Apart from this common worship the villagers have often been found to worship the God at their own places individually. An idol, made of clay, is set up in one of the corners of the hut and a Brāhman is called to perform the ceremony. The expenses of the common worship are met out of the village common fund.

Teeja. It is again a festival of the women of the village. It comes off in the month of August and is accompanied with the usual fasting, throughout the day. Only those women whose husbands are alive, are allowed to participate in the festival because it is primarily connected with the longevity of their husbands. Widows are therefore not allowed to take part. In the evening women, each with her food, go to the river and after bath, prayers are offered to the Water-Spirit as in the *Chait* festival. The *Chait* festival is for the safety and preservation of their children, while the *Teeja* festival is for their husbands. Both are protected from the common danger of water.

Kan-Asthami. This festival celebrates the birth of Lord Krishna, who was born on the eighth

day of Bhado or the latter half of the month of August. The image of Lord Krishna is enshrined in every Chero hut and at dead of night the time when it is believed that Yasodha, mother of Lord Krishna gave birth to Krishna, the image is worshipped by the Brahman. Songs are sung in praise of his heroic deeds, a strict fast is observed by the people of the village and food is taken only after the worship has been performed. Dance and animated revelry may continue for some days even after the festival is over.

Dashera.—It comes off in the month of October, as soon as the rains have subsided. There is no formal worship or fasting. In the evening the residents of the village meet together at a place in the village and sing songs in honour of the heroic deeds of Rama and Lakshman. Those near about Dudhi—the Tahsildar's head-quarters—come to Dudhi to pay their respects to the lord of the Estate—the Tahsildar. Every one appears before him with a Najar in cash, according to his status in life. The Tahsildar in his turn formally accepts their individual presents and promises peace and prosperity in the year following.

Amavas.—We meet with another important festival which is celebrated in honour of the spirit present presiding over cattle, for their safety and preservation. It comes off in the month of November just when the *rabi* ploughings have begun. The cow is again ceremoniously given rest; her horns are smothered with oil. The bullock is not

used for ploughing. Prayers are offered to the Spirit for the successful working of the ploughs with the help of the bullocks. The *rabi* is by far the more important and valuable than the *Kharif* and every possible care is taken to secure a bumper harvest. Besides, the cold months of November, December, January are lacking in fodder and the cattle are often half-fed. Pigs are often sacrificed to propitiate the Spirit. There is no common worship of the whole village for the safety of the the cattle as a whole, but individual worship is the rule. No image of the cattle spirit is placed anywhere in the village or in the hut.

Sankrant.—This festival is primarily celebrated and enjoyed by the children of the village. It comes off in the month of February and the elders do not take any part in it. All the children of the village go out from door to door, begging alms, and it is the sacred duty of every family to supply provisions to these children. Having collected the labours of the day, they proceed towards the adjoining stream and on the bank of the stream they cook their own food. They enjoy a social dinner—a portion of the food is offered to the river spirit. No ceremonial worship of any particular deity is performed on this occasion.

II. KADU KURUBAS.

BY RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER,

B. A., L. T., F. R. A. I.

Origin and Early History:—The Kurubas or Kurumbas are said to be the modern representatives of the ancient Kurumbas or Pallavas who were once very powerful in South India; but there is very little trace left of their former greatness anywhere, now remaining. In the seventh century the power of the Pallava kings was at its zenith. It gradually declined owing to the rise of the Kongu, Chola and Chalukya chiefs. The final overthrow of the Kurumba sovereignty was effected by the Chola king Adondai about the seventh or the eighth century A. D.. This led to the dispersion of the Kurumbas far and wide. Many fled to the hills of Malabar, Nilgiris, Coorg, Wyanad and Mysore. Thus during the long lapse of time, they have become wild and uncivilized, and have owing to their comparative isolation lost their ancient culture. Both the Uru or the civilized Kurubas must have been identical, but the present difference, as in the case of Bedas and other tribes, is the result of geographic distribution and environment. The name Kurumbranad, one of the taluks of North Malabar, still attests their former greatness. ¹

"Kurubas or Kurumbas":—However separated from each other, and scattered among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and

¹ Madras Census Report, 1891,

however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in India which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence. Indeed the Kurumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land which can contest with their Dravidian kinsman the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. ² The terms Kuruba and Kurumba were originally identical, though the one form is, in different places, employed for the other, and has occasionally assumed a special local meaning. Mr. Lewis Rice gives the same names for the Uru and the Wild Kurubas alike".

Internal Structure :—There are two endogamous groups among the Kādu Kurubas, namely, 1 Betta Kurubas, & 2 Jenu Kurubas. The former are again divided into three minor groups, namely 1—Ane (elephant), 2—Bevina (*nim* tree, *Melia Azaderachta*), and 3—Kolli (fire-brand).

The Uru or civilized Kurubas are found in most of the eastern districts of the Madras Presidency and Mysore, and those on the Nilgrīs are no doubt the off shoots of the aboriginal Kādu Kuruba stock, found on the borders of the Mysore Province.

Habitations :—The Kādu and the Jenu Kurubas live in miserably low huts thatched with leaves, with walls of wattled reeds. They have no articles of furniture except the grass mats of their own making. Their domestic utensils consist of few

² Oppert :—*Original Inhabitants of India*.

earthen, bamboo and brass vessels. A few families may be found close together in a part of the forest cleared by themselves. The selection of the spot depends upon the vicinity of some brook or other water reservoir. They rear no kitchen garden of any kind. The Jenu Kurubas live in similar small detached huts far into the interior of the forests.

Marriage Customs :—There are two forms of marriage in vogue among them, one of which is somewhat similar to that of the Okkaligar, and the other is the simple one of a formal exchange of betel leaves and arecanuts which concludes the nuptials. The bride elect is always presented with two wedding costumes and a few necklets of glass beads. There is no intermarriage between the Kadu and Jenu Kurubas.

Puberty Customs :—Grown-up girls and women, during periodical illness, live outside the limits of the *hadi* (a group of rude huts) for three days. They bathe on the fourth day and enter into their own huts. The temporary huts in which they live are generally burned. In cases of childbirth, none but the wet nurse or the female attendant enters the room of the confined woman for ten days. Generally the mother or some old woman of her relation attends on her. The women are faithful and affectionate to their husbands.

Family Life :—The Kadu Kuruba family consists of a woman, her husband and their children. The woman looks after her child, does the domestic duties and gathers some edible leaves

or roots to prepare some curries and to supplement whatever is brought by the husband for food. The grown-up son or daughter, if any, help their parents in their domestic work.

Magico-Religious Beliefs :—Like all children of the forests both Kadu and Jenu Kurumbas believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. In cases of sickness they seek no medical aid, but resort to exorcisms, charms, incantations, and animal sacrifices, to obtain the favour of their godlings.

Religion :—They are pure animists, believing in ghosts or spirits, to whom periodical offerings are made. The Small-pox demon is much dreaded and appeased with sacrifices. Of late they have begun to adore the gods of the higher castes, owing to their frequent contact with them.

Funeral Customs :—In case of death, children are buried and adults burned. Death pollution lasts for seven days, at the end of which they hold a funeral feast when relations and friends are treated to a feast.

They are of such known honesty, that on all occasions they are entrusted with provisions by the farmers who are persuaded that the Kurumbas would rather starve than take one grain of what is given to them in charge.

In cases of adultery, the husband flogs his wife very severely, and, if he can, beats his paramour also. If he cannot the tribal headman does it for him.

Occupation :—As has been already said, the Kadu Kurumbas are very active and capable of

enduring great fatigue. They are mostly engaged in felling timber in the forests and other minor pursuits. They work now-a-days for the Government Forest Department in jungles, and are mostly engaged by them for their multifarious activities. They have not yet taken to cultivation. But in some localities a few among them clear a patch of ground about the village, and sow the ground with *ragi* (*Elensine Corocana*), *tenne* (*Setaria italica*) or *Kiri* (*Amaranthus*). They collect the jungle produce honey, resin, gall nuts which they barter with village traders. They are expert in tracking wild animals, and very skilfully elude accidental pursuits by them. Of late some resort to *kumri* cultivation. They are hospitable to strangers. Some among them hire themselves out as labouring servants to the farmers and receive monthly wages. Others in crop seasons watch the fields at night to keep off elephants and wild hogs. In the interval between, they work for daily wages or go into the woods to collect roots of wild yams (*Dioscorea*) part of which they eat, and part they exchange for grains. Their manner of driving away elephants is by running against them with burning bamboo torch. The animal some-times waits till the Kuruba comes close up; but these poor people, taught by experience, push boldly on, dash their torches against the elephant's head, when it never fails to take to immediate flight. Should their courage fail and should they try to run away, the elephant would at once pursue and put them to death. They have no means of killing so large an animal. In the event of a Kuruba meeting

an elephant during the time, he becomes as much alarmed as any other of the inhabitants. The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings, but they are too fierce for them to kill. These people of the forests suffer much from tigers and leopards against which their flimsy huts are a poor defence. When these animals are troubled by hunger, their burning fires or torches are of very little use. They have dogs with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares. They are also skilful in catching in snares peacocks and other esculent birds.

Social Status:—The Kurubas take the food of the higher castes, but not those of the Madigas, Medars and the like. They are very particular in refusing admission to the outcastes and Mussalmans to enter their premises, or permit shoes being brought into their houses nor even in front of them.

Dietary of the Kurubas:—They mostly subsist on wild bamboo seeds and edible roots of the jungle often mixed with honey. They eat the flesh of the animals they hunt except the flesh of bison to which their brethren have no objection.

Appearance, Dress and Ornament:—The Kadu Kurubas are either dark or dark-brown in colour, and have short stature and woolly hair. The male dress consists of either a bit of cloth, to cover their nudity or a coarse cloth tied round the waist and reaching to the knees. They are their own barbers and use broken glass for razors. The women wear coarse cloth, four yards long,

and have their foreheads tattooed in dots of two or three horizontal lines, wear earrings-glass, bangle, and necklets of black beads.

The Betta Kuruba Woman of Mysore covers her body below the shoulders by tying a long cloth round the armpits leaving arms and shoulders bare, while a Enukeruba woman wears a loin cloth, and sometimes wears an upper garment to cover her breast. The Betta Kuruba male keeps the hair of the head uncut, and ties it into a knot. A Jennu Kuruba on the contrary shaves the front part, leaving a tuft behind.

They believe that good men after death will become benevolent gods, and bad men malevolent ones.

The spirit of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings to a female deity, Bettada Chikkana, that is the Mother of the Hill.

In some places the male dress consists of either a woolen *kambli* or a coarse cloth and skull cap. A curious custom or trait prevailing in the tribe is that the unmarried female adults of the village or *hadi* generally sleep in a hut or *chavadi* set apart for them, whilst the adult bachelors and children have a separate building, both under the eye of the headman (*Muppan*). The hut for the latter is called *Pundungar Chavadi*, meaning, the abode of the vagabonds. The Oraons and other tribes of Chota Nagpur have similar institutions called *Dhumkuria*.

III. ON THE CULT OF THE GODLING UTTAMA THAKURA IN THE DISTRICT OF MYMENSINGH IN EASTERN BENGAL.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B. L.

In the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, unmarried girls worship a godling named Basanta Rāya (or "the Prince of Spring") on the advent of the spring season. Before worshipping this godling they worship another godling named Uttama Thakura (or "the Good Godling") for seven days. It is stated that both the names, Basanta Rāya and Uttama Thakura, are synonymous of the name of God Krishna, the son of Nandaghosha, the king of the cowherds.

In the afternoon of a spring day, these maidens arrange in a basket, flowers of the Drona creeper (*Holmskioldia sanguinea*), the Datura (*Datura, dhatura*), the Mandāra (*Erythina indica*), the Palasa (*Butea froudosa*) and other flowers of the vernal season, unhusked paddy, blades of the Durva grass and small clods of earth, and, taking these offerings go to the foot of a Kadam tree (*Anthocephalus cadamba*), or the Neem tree (*Melia azadirachta*) or the Bael tree (*Aegle marmelos*) or failing any one of these trees, to the foot of any other kind of tree in the neighbourhood. Taking their stand at the foot of anyone of these trees, they chant the undermentioned prayer-formula, and, while doing so, throw the little clods of earth, the unhusked paddy, the flowers and the blades of the Durva grass to the foot of the tree by

way of making offerings to the godling Uttama Thakura who is supposed to reside in the afore-mentioned tree :—

Text (in Devanāgarī script) of the prayer-formula :—

- १। उत्तम ठाकुर भाला । आमि काला ।
- २। उत्तम ठाकुर भाला । ठाकुरदादा काला ।
- ३। उत्तम ठाकुर भाला । आमार बाबा काला ।

इत्यादि...

English translation of the foregoing formula :—

1. Uttama Thakura is fair-complexioned (lit., good); but I am black-complexioned.

2. Uttama Thakura is fair-complexioned (lit., good); but (my) grand-father is black complexioned.

3. Uttama Thakura is fair-complexioned (lit., good); but my father is black-complexioned.

[In this way, to the text of the song other lines are added and changed in which the names of the worshipper's parents, brothers and sisters are described as being black-complexioned, while the godling Uttama Thakura (*alias* Krishna) is described as being fair-complexioned although his complexion is really black].

After finishing the puja of the godling Uttama Thakura they take their stand at the foot of the worshipped tree and chant the following song :—

Text in Devanāgarī script to the song :—

- १। के तुल रे फुल राजबाहीर मामे ।
- २। ठाकुर बाहीर भी गो आमि फुलेर अधिकारी ।
- ३। के तुल रे फुल,
- ४। आगा धहरा तुल फुल, मामे भ्याङ्ग पड़े ।
- ५। के तुल रे फुल,

- ६। साजि भइरा तुले फुल, खोपा भइरा परे।
 ७। के तुल रे फुल,
 ८। सात भाइयेर बइन गो आमि, फुलेर अधिकारी,
 ९। के तुल रे फुल।

English translation of the foregoing song :—

1. Who has plucked the flowers (from the garden) in the midst of the king's palace.
2. I am the servant-girl attached to the temple and am therefore entitled to pluck the flowers.
3. Who has plucked the flowers?
4. Pluck the flowers by holding the tips of the stalks so that they may get torn from the middle of the flower-stalks.
5. Who has plucked the flowers?
6. We are plucking basket-fuls of flowers so that we may adorn our chignons therewith.
7. Who has plucked the flowers?
8. & 9. I am the sister of seven brothers, and am therefore entitled to pluck the flowers. (who has plucked the flowers).

Text (in Devanāgarī script) of the second song :—

- १। कुञ्जैर मामे के रे, कुञ्जैर मामे के?
- २। नन्दैर खाइला कालाचान्द कृष्ण एमेहे ॥
- ३। एक देवरौ दुइ देवरौ तीन देवरौ परे।
- ४। तिन देवरौ परे गया पाइलाम ठाकुरेर लाग रे।
- ५। कुञ्जैर मामे के?
- ६। कुञ्जे गया ठाकुर कृष्ण खाइलाइन एकतुक पान।
- ७। राधिकारे देखइन ठाकुर रे पूनुमासीर चान ॥
- ८। कुञ्जैर मामे के?
- ९। कुञ्जे गया ठाकुर कृष्ण खाइल एकतुक गुया।
- १०। राधिकारे देखइन ठाकुर रे पिञ्जैर सुया ॥
- ११। कुञ्जैर मामे के?

English translation of the foregoing song :—

1. Who is inside the grave, who is inside the grave ?

2. The black-complexioned (lit, black moon) Krishna, the son Nandaghosha has come.

3. & 4. I found out the deity (Krishna) after going through a first, second and third set of apartments.

5. (Who is inside the grove ?)

6. The deity Krishna are a spiced betel-leaf after going to the grove.

7. He steadfastly looked at Radhikā who was as beautiful as the full moon.

8. (Who is inside the grove ?)

9. & 10. The deity krishna ate some areca-nuts after going into the grove and steadfastly looked at Radhikā who was like a caged parrot.

11. (Who is inside the grove ?) ¹

Remarks.

Now arise the questions : (1) Whether are the names of the deities Uttama-Thakura and Basanta Raya mentioned in any Hindu work on mythology ?

(2) If not, what is the probable origin of these two godlings ?

(3) For obtaining what boons are these godlings worshipped by the maidens of Mymensingh ?

(4) Is there any other cult prevalent in any other part of Eastern Bengal, which is analogous to the cult of these godlings ?

¹ For the description of this cult, I am indebted to a Bengali article entitled "*Mymensingher Meyeti Sangit*" (or the women's song of Mymensingh), published in the Bengali monthly magazine *Pravasi* for *Magh*, 1330 B. S. (Jan-Feb., 1929), PP. 484.

I shall now take up the questions (1) & (2) for discussion. The names Uttama Thakura (or "the Good Godling") and Basanta Rāya (or "the prince of Spring") are not mentioned in any Hindu work on mythology. They appear to me to be the names of two tree-spirits who were immanent in the *Neem*, *Kadam* and *Bael* trees. These were originally worshipped as tree-godlings by the maidens of Mymensingh. But, subsequently, for the purpose of investing this cult with greater sanctity, the names of these two tree-godlings were stated to be synonymous with the name of the god Sri Krishna, son of Nandaghosa.

The fact that the maidens take their stand at the foot of the aforementioned trees and present the flowers, unhusked paddy, blades of *Durva* grass and little clods of clay by way of offerings to the two aforementioned godlings, lends a considerable colour of plausibility to my theory that these two godlings were originally tree-spirits.

Then again the fact that no Brahman priests officiate in the performance of this worship and that the maidens themselves act as priestesses therein, support my aforementioned theory.

Now I shall take up question (3). I am inclined to think that the unmarried girls of Mymensingh worship these two godlings for the purpose of getting married to husbands similar to "the Good Godling" and "the Prince of Spring".

I shall answer question (4) in the affirmative and state that there is current, in the district of Pabna in Eastern Bengal and in some parts of

Nadia in Central Bengal, the Cult of the Jujube-tree, in which a godling named Itokumāra is worshipped by the unmarried girls of the two districts for the purpose of obtaining husbands similar to this godling. This godling is immanent in the Jujube-tree. It is therefore very similar to the cults of Uttama Thakura, and Basanta Rāya. ²

I shall now take up question (5) for discussion. I am inclined to think that the Indian custom of offering up lumps of clay, or, for the matter of that, stones to tree-spirits or tree-godlings has been borrowed from the Buddhists who, for the purpose of propitiating the *genius loci* of a difficult mountain-pass or a dangerous mountain crag, make offerings of stones and of skulls of animals, or erect cairns thereof. ³

I shall conclude this paper by making a few observations on the prayer formula which is chanted by the maidens while presenting the offerings to the aforementioned two godlings. In this formula which is of magical significance, the worshipper describes herself, her parents, brothers & sisters as being black-complexioned; while the adored deity, namely, Uttama Thakura is described as being fair complexioned. This is nothing but the language of fulsome adulation. If Uttama Thakura is the prototype of the black-complexioned god

² Vide my article entitled "*On the cult of the Jujube-tree*", in *Man in India*, (published from Ranchi), Vol. V. PP. 115-131.

³ Vide the examples of this practice collected and discussed by me at PP. 260-61 of Vol. II. of *Man in India*.

Sri Krishna, it is nothing but gross flattery to describe him as being fair-complexioned. But the maiden-worshippers of Mymensingh are shrewd enough to know that even godlings, like human beings, have their weaknesses and are moved by flattery. It is for this reason that they flatter his godlingship so that he may grant them the boon of being married to husbands who may be as handsome and good as Uttama Thākura. *

* An abstract of this papers was read before the Section of Anthropology of the Fifteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta in January, 1928.

IV. THE KORWAS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

BY PROF. D. N. MAJUMBAR, M. A., P. R. S.

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The Korwas are an aboriginal tribe found in the part of Mirzapur, south of the river Son and along the frontier of Sarguja. In the District Gazetteer of Palamau they are described as a jungle tribe numbering 7,000. They are numerous in the Banka thana which lies on the border of Sarguja. They are also found in Untary. There is hardly any difference between the Korwas of Mirzapur and those of Palamau and for practical purposes, I shall confine my remarks to Korwas of the United Provinces, who are found in the forest area of Parganah Dudhi south-eastern portion of Robertsganj Tehsil, Mirzapur District. The numerical strength of the Korwas in Perganah Dudhi is difficult to gather. The Census Reports of 1891, recorded 607 souls, since then no mention of the Korwas has been made in subsequent Census Reports. As far as my information goes, they number some three hundred souls all told and they hold their lives on slender terms. ¹

Perganah Dudhi is bounded on the north by Perganah Agori, on the east by Palan and Sarguja, on the south by Sarguja and on the west by Perganah Singraul. Dudhi physically forms an

¹ *District Gazetteers, Mirzapur.*

adjunct to the tableland of Chota-Nagpur and is dotted with small ranges of hills and here and there with isolated peaks. The river Kanhar flows by the east of the Perganah. The whole of the Perganah was formerly covered with a dense forest and the little cultivation that the primitive inhabitants did was by burning the forest and sowing seeds on the ashes, and when the soil was believed to be exhausted, a fresh plot was selected, and the same process of firing and sowing practised. Villages were founded by burning and felling trees and the names of villages even now bear testimony to the different species of plants and trees which were cut and burnt. In the centre of the village, a group of trees were kept which showed the composition of the forest and where the sylvan deities were believed to reside. Under the trees were placed boulders which are called *dheevers* by the people, and offerings and sacrifices are made even now to these stones in order to ensure the immunity of the villagers in times of famines or epidemics. The Chero Baiga offers sugar, ghee and grain, and sacrifice hen or goat at the commencement and the end of the agricultural season. Tradition has it that the first village to be founded was Banskata (i. e., after felling bamboo trees), the second Khairahi, the third was Praspani and so on.

Game was also abundant ; tigers, leopards, hyæna, jackals and foxes are even now found in plenty but these have apparently become shy and less numerous. The introduction of stringent forest

rules has restricted to a great extent the free and unfettered movement of the jungle tribes, who have been forced to take to crude cultivation, the effects of which have been all but satisfactory as we shall have occasion to discuss later on. The temperature of the Perganah varies from 109° in June to 28° in December with an annual rainfall of about 45" but most of the water from precipitation runs to waste owing to the undulating nature of the country and defective surface drainage.

Water is scarce even for drinking purposes, for the rivers and rivulets which divide and diversify the area do not carry water throughout the year, while well-sinking is also difficult for the average depth of water is very great and before it can be met with granite rocks have to be pierced. The dry climate and scarcity of water may be cited as causes of the absence of bird life in the forest.

The forest of Dudhi provides the following kinds of wood: asan, jethkhair, salai, abnus, persidh, shishum, rohina, persidh, bijaisal, sanam, savai, sakha, kari, auola, siddha, karasan, hardi, dhaura, patdhamin, kahu, gurri, galgal, paras, karam, namer, bair, ajan, bahera, jigua, mapulan, kusum, koriya.

The primitive methods of cultivation like *Jhum* or *Dahiya* have given place to crude forms of farming, introduced by the Koiries who have been specially requisitioned for this purpose, but the method of cultivation followed by the Korwas and other aboriginal tribes of the locality does

not show much improvement though intensive farming, double cropping and mixed sowings are practised.

The following grains are produced by the inhabitants.

juar, sanwan, makra, mejhari, urd bhadaï, kurthi, dodo, arhar, masur, black til, white til, matar, urd aghani, khesari, barai, batura, wheat, sarson (red) rai, sarson yellow, gram barley, dhan kesir, dhan jingi, dhan samjira, dhan saro, dhan serhi, dhan danto, dhan laungehur, dhan sonagoh, dhan kamid, dhan mahadeo, dhan pandi, dhan dahia, dhan jelhore, dhan khuta, dhan macca, merho, tisi.

The list is not complete, yet it gives an idea of the variety of crops grown in the Perganah. It must be mentioned here that the aboriginal cultivator knows little about the importance of the crops, the rotation of crops or the advantages of mixed sowing; he does what his *mahajan* (capitalist or creditor) directs him to do, for he is after all a slave of the *mahajan* and whatever crops he raises, he makes over to the latter who grants him a share which seldom keeps him above his daily wants, consequently he adds to his debt constantly with the result that he becomes a slave to the *mahajan* for generations. The land being inalienable by the tenant, he mortgages the produce of his land. So that the cultivator has little interest in the land beyond that of a hired labourer and no improvement of the land or of the quality of the produce can be effected under the present circumstances. In the course of an informal talk I had with

the Tehsildar of Dudhi, he narrated two interesting cases which came up before him for decision. In one case, the father of a man borrowed some 25 rupees from a particular *mahajan* and for twenty-five years he paid a portion of the debt at the annual harvest time and served the money-lender as a labourer for the interest which after every six months was to be added to the capital and further interest charged on it. The father died and the son continued to serve the creditor for the debt of this father which after twenty-five years amounted to five hundred rupees. When the son wanted to leave his village and migrate to some labour centre, the *Mahajan* filed a civil suit for the amount with costs. In another case which was decided, during my stay in Dudhi, by the Tehsildar, a money-lender (in this case a Punjabi mahajan), advanced 30 rupees to a man. This man served the whole period of his life and could not repay the total sum due from him. The son after his father's death began to serve the *Mahajan* under the same terms but somehow or other he also added to the amount by a fresh debt of 20 rupees; the *mahajan* filed a civil suit against the son for Rs. 200/- which of course was not decreed but the original amount had to be decreed. After a number of such decisions, few cases now come to court and the Tehsildar told me that the debtor had no alternative but to submit to the iron laws of the Baniya. It is difficult to give an estimate of the total agricultural indebtedness of the people but it is no exaggeration to say that 90% of the tenants in Pergana Dudhi are

slaves of the Baniya. As regards the co-operative societies, it will require years of propaganda to convince the people that the system of advancing loans and the habit of thrift which the societies foster are far from detrimental to their interests. But there appears to be one silver lining in the sable cloud of gloom and horror, that is if the Tehsildar takes the lead and explains the intricacies of the system and the benefits that are sure to accrue from the introduction of it in his jurisdiction. This is possible if the officer possesses a personality, is a tried man and sympathetic towards the people and if the people recognise him to be such. A sympathetic officer can work miracles, if he intends to. The name of Windham is a household word in the locality and Windham was more than the District Officer: he was, as it were, a god amongst men and to him must be ascribed all the progress that has up till now been made in the Perganah. Windhamganj will always stand as a monument to the zeal, honesty and the spirit of service which characterised the selfless activities of this great Englishman.

Besides the grains enumerated above of which very little is to be had for local consumption, a substantial portion of the subsistence of the aboriginal population is supplied by the fruits and roots of the forest. In times of famine and scarcity, the people live on the fruits and roots available in the forest and such is the adaptability of the people that they have been successful in discovering processes by which even the most poisonous roots are made harmless and fit for food.

The following list of roots which are used as famine food and as stimulants or medicine for various ailments to which the aboriginal population are heir, will be of much interest.

sanwat kanda (famine food), panhi jani (fever medicine), root of kurya (fever medicine), rudol kanda (tonic and famine food), poligan kanda (famine food), kapuni (fever medicine), satawan (used to increase the supply of milk in the breast of nursing mothers), pitha kanda (famine food), hansua danbhar (famine food), tej raj (tonic), patal konhana (tonic), seman ka masala (tonic), bilani kanda (famine food), kundru kanda (tonic), chanaiya kanda (tonic), bhoj raj (tonic), seno kanda (tonic and famine food), baijan kanda (famine food), genthi kanda (famine food), fruit of dhamba (purgative) segat lamia, dudhia kanda (famine food), khesa kanda (used on fasting days), gona kanda (medicine for constipation), med kanda (medicine for gout), pithan kanda (famine food), dhuna kanda (famine food), biskanda (medicine for relief of pain), makwa kanda (famine food), chitka kanda (famine food), banaimi kanda (famine food), tikhun kanda (famine food), mal kanda (famine food), kapseth (famine food), white musli (tonic), black musli (tonic), gai lakhan (medicine for pain and gout), bharis lakhan (medicine for rheumatism and gout), ram raj (tonic), inden raj (medicine to kill worms in the stomach) ajapen kanda (famine food).

This is only a partial list of the innumerable roots which the aborigines use for their food and medicine. The method of preparation of the roots is also instructive. The roots are hunted out from

the forest by the men who give them to their women. The latter wash the roots and dry them in the sun. After they are completely dried, they are pulverised, and the powder thus derived is used to prepare cakes. Sometimes the powder is mixed with molasses or honey and boiled, thus preparing a kind of *halua*.

The absence of births in the forest, diminution in the supply of games and the difficulty in securing them, the environment in which the aborigines live, have been responsible for the origin of an elaborate process of food supply, the absence of which would have meant complete starvation to the aborigines who are constantly faced with crop failures. The nature of the soil, scarcity of water for irrigation purposes, the exploitation by the *mahajan* or the revenue collecting agents and cunning excise shopkeepers of the interior, and their crude attempts at cultivation very often fail to provide them with the bare means of subsistence so that the supply of roots is of immense help to the people but for which their very existence would have been imperilled.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The physical features of the Korwas distinguish them from the neighbouring tribes such as the Majhwars, the Kharwars, the Bhuiyas the Cheros and the Parhaiyas. The latter betray finer features which may be explained by the fact that in the historic time when these tribes were powerful enough to establish kingdoms and rule over most portions of Central India, they must have freely mixed with the Indo-Aryan population, and

the present stock of aborigines we meet with in the central belt of India from Chota-Nagpur to the country of the Bhils is more or less a mixed type. The Korwas, on the other hand, show little signs of this ethnical miscegenation and it will not be wrong to take them as a pure-blooded type bordering the fringes of the Chota-Nagpur Plateau. Korwas have been compared to Negroes but there is little similarity between the types. None of the essential features of a Negro are discernible amongst the Korwas.

They possess a very black complexion, so black that in many cases it approximates to sooty black. The stature is tall with a tendency to medium. They possess well-developed chest and their figure gives an idea of great strength. The eyes are small and the lids are swollen. The nose is flat and in many cases depressed at the root. The lips are thick but not inverted. There is a symmetry about the different parts of the face which detracts from the natural ugliness of the face. The hair is coarse and is kept long but it does not now hang unkempt over the shoulders as it used to do; the majority of the people keep only a cluster of hair on the top of the head in imitation of the Oriyas and some caste people in the neighbourhood. The chin, unlike among the Mundari tribes, is rather developed and in some cases prominent too. The women are quite strong-built but look famished. Pictures of the Korwas taken by me last year give an idea of the muscular and well-developed physique of the people, but they look

quite spent up with rags round their loins. From all that has been said above, it is apparent that the people are struggling hard with the unfavourable conditions of their environment and we shall not be surprised if the tribe disappears from the face of the earth, being unable to hold their own against the reaction of the environment.

About 50 subjects were measured. The average cephalic index for the Korwas on the basis of the data, is 72.9 which shows that the tribe is dolichocephalic. The minimum index was found to be 67.3 and the maximum 79.6. 24% of the indices fell below 70; 42% below 75, 22% between 75 and 77; and only 12% between 77 and 80. The average nasal index is 83.7; 16% of the indices fell below 75, 22% between 75 and 80, 36% between 80 and 90; and 26% above 90. The maximum index reached was 104.6 in one case, while the minimum was 62.5. The majority of the Korwas were platyrrhine, others mesorrhine with a strong tendency to platyrrhiny. There is little doubt that the Korwas belong to the Mundari stock. The cephalic indices for some of the other sections of the Mundari race have been given by Risley. The average cephalic index for the Munda is 74.5, the Kharia 74.5 and that for the Korwas of the Chota Nagpur area is 74.4. The average cephalic index for the Korwas is given as 72.0 by Sir W. Crooke. This is significant showing that the Korwas of these Provinces in Perganah Dudbi have maintained the purity of stock while in other parts, there has been an admixture, however partial it may be. The same is the case with the Hos. The cephalic indices

for the Hos, a section of the Mundari race on the Chota-Nagpur Plateau, range from 75 to 80. The previous figure for the average cephalic index for the tribe was given by Risley as 74·5, but my own measurements gave the average as 75·6 and there was a tendency to more mesocephaly. This tendency again may be the result of a gradual miscegenation going on, for we know even Col. Tickell ascribed the greater beauty of the Hos than those of cognate tribes to an admixture with the Sarawaks or Bengalees. The average nasal index of the Korwas is 83·7 while the average for other sections of the race runs from 82·6 to 94·5. The stature of all the branches of the Mundari race is uniform and the range of variation is less marked. The general physical features or the sum total of indefinite characters which admit of no measurement, affiliate the Korwas unmistakably to the Munda race while the Korwa dialect according to the researches of the Linguistic Survey of India belongs to the the Mundari branch of the Austric family of languages.

The average Korwa woman does not put on much ornaments; a pair of bangles, a *kardhan* worn round the waist, a pair of *anguthā* on the toes are all that a Korwa woman is seen to favour. Tattooing is practised and every woman tattoos her arms, specially upper arms which are always kept exposed. The tattoo designs are mostly geometric figures, rarely of animals or plants and there is no totemic belief connected with the marks. Birds sometimes figure in the designs

but there is no special predilection for any particular species. In one or two cases, the moon and the stars were also figured white, in many cases, the designs are nothing but parallel lines scratched on the arms. Only two women appeared with necklaces tattooed round their necks and a cross sign inscribed in a circle tattooed on the glabellar region but the women did not belong to the Christian community.

Close association with the neighbouring tribes, the Majhwars, the Kharwars, the Bhuiyas, the Oheros and weekly markets near the Korwa settlements where all the ornaments customarily worn by these tribes are exhibited for sale, are responsible for the introduction of all kinds of ornaments, a list of which is appended below :—

guria—used by all tribes round the neck, *margundhar*—used by all tribes for tying hair, *phundra*—worn on the arms, *pahunely*—worn on the arms, *phuphet bandhwa*—used mostly by Kharwarins to tie dhoti, now by others also, *kardhan*—used by all tribes round the waist, *wikuli*—used by all tribes except Kharwarins on the forehead, *tarki*—used by widow Majhwarins in the ear, by others as an ear ornament, *churis*—used on the wrist by all except Kharwarins, *churikharwarins*—churis used by Kharwarins, *churta*—another kind of churi, used by all tribes, *angutha*—worn on the toes, *chutki*—used by Majhwarins on toes, *paini*—used by Majhwarins as leg bangle, *batidi*—worn on the wrist by all tribes, *ragri*—worn by Kharwarins on wrist, *banwaria*—used by Majhwarins, *khitha*—used by

Majhwarins and Kharwarins on the arm, *baham-kas*—armlets used by kharwarins, *kara*—worn as an anklet, *kamarkas*—worn by males at Karma dances round waist.

During the *Karma* festival girls put on all these ornaments which are not generally purchased by the girls but presented to them by the villagers for their skilful and enchanting dances. The hair which grows in matted tails for want of special care is massed in a chignon sticking out behind the head in which are arranged, in beautiful shades, a huge quantity of flowers which, with the heavy load of ornaments, add to their ugliness instead of softening it. The Korwa women are more ugly than the men and grow old much quicker than the latter. They are more black than men, rather ill-clad with only a rag round the loins, famished by hunger, fatigued by over-work; the lobes of their ears are dilated by inserting an wooden tube, often an inch in diameter. They also spoil their looks quite young.

The following articles, most of which are of local manufacture, are in use amongst the Korwas as also amongst the Bhuiyas and the Parhaiyas who live in the interior of the forest area:—

bamboo comb; *parohi*—used as a purse for keeping coins; *seman*,—a kind of basket made of leaves for keeping clothes if any; *sindhora*,—for keeping red lead; *betha*,—used on the shoulder under the pot while carrying water; *chunadan*, *surtidan*, *toshdan*,—for keeping surti and lime; *mora*,—to keep vegetables; *dhouli*,—to keep fishes,

also for fruits ; *pulli*,—used in extracting oil ; *paila*,—used for grain measurement ; *petara*,—leaf basket for clothes ; *sup*,—to clear off husks ; *pothis*,—to keep corn ; *ginari*,—to carry husk ; *chopi*,—made of leaves as head-dress for males, females and children ; palanquin and umbrella made of leaves ; umbrella made of bamboo handle covered with leaves ; *puria*,—a kind of leaf box to store grain ; *jhunai*,—net to catch fish ; *chop* and *churdara* which are also fishing devices ; *gara*,—fish trap ; *jal*,—partridge and rat trap ; *divat*,—self-replenishing lamps ; *mandar*,—drum ; *tharki*,—bell tied round the neck of a goat, more properly a she-goat ; *ghughur*,—tied round the neck of oxen ; *darap*,—cotton cloths worn by the aborigines ; *gurd*,—a device to scare away evil spirits ; *jhumki*,—hare trap ; *dori*,—oil bark of *babul*, bark of *kahua*, bark of *asan* ; bark of *dhaura* for tanning skins ; *mohua*,—cakes preserved for food.

lota phul, *gilas phul* ; *katora phul* and *sarposh* used to serve as cover of *chilum* are the ordinary kinds of pottery produced in the area.

The average Korwa puts on a small rag round the loins which again is replaced by a small *dhoti* 8 cubits by 2, when they happen to go out of the village. The Korwa women put on a *sāree*, about 5 yards long which serves also to cover waist upwards. No coat or shirt is worn by the Korwas but turbans are now in vogue. All the clothes are of local manufacture. The thread is prepared by the women and the local weaver who is also a Korwa, and in some villages a Kunbi, weaves the clothes according to the requirements of the people.

V. SEX AND SEX-CONTROL IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.

BY PROF. D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A., P. R. S.

The relation of sex to society is so fundamental that it requires no specific mention. Life means growth, and growth is due to the activity of sex. Thus all societies, primitive or advanced, not only show interest in sex but seek to control this vital function with which their existence is essentially bound up. But the process of sex evolution is different in different races and phases of culture. Sex changes with every stage of culture and its aims and directions are an interesting study. Generally speaking, sex has undergone some definite and significant modifications from primitive to modern life. Instances from savage life show that sex-consciousness was unknown or imperfect in the ruder stages of culture. Gradually, with the evolution of individuality, sex differences came to be noticed and consciousness of sex became an accomplished fact. With the growth of sex-consciousness sex drive forced itself upon the attention of the community, and magical rites were invented to augment the procreative power of man. The efficacy of these rites was overestimated and sexual activity was understood as synonymous with fecundity or productivity. To ensure greater yield from the soil, the sexual act was performed in the field by the primitive agriculturist at dead of night and absolute secrecy was always maintained. Discipline in the dormitory (where the

unmarried were segregated) included a complete practical course in sex relations, which meant that the novice before entering the married life should be well-versed in sexual processes. Mimetic and magical rites are found associated with dormitory life everywhere. The next step in the evolution of sex conception is furnished by the rules and codes of morality which attempt to subordinate sex to other impulses and interests. This stage has not been fully attained in any society and a constant struggle is going on between the different human drives for mastery and control. The modern attitude to sex seems to be an under-estimation of the importance of sex drives in human life and sex impulse is conceived as an ordinary human impulse requiring no elaborate system of regulations and tabus which formed such a characteristic feature of both primitive and mediæval codes of ethics.

This change in the outlook is slowly working its way in modern countries and modern society is gradually adapting itself to this attitude of conduct. Yet man has been essentially conservative in its attitude towards sex, and sex symbols are even now worshipped or venerated everywhere as depicting the process of creation. He sometimes approaches a phallic symbol with all the reverence of a true devotee to conceive the mystic and wonderful energy associated with the emblem which has caused the conception and creation of the world of beings and things; a conscious appreciation of the possibilities of life emanating from the world of visible creation elicits

from him an obeisance to the energy objectified in the phallic emblem and thus his attitude to sex symbols may be interpreted as decent as opposed to indecent. Among savage societies, the attitude to sex has not undergone any considerable change and the same magical rites and observances are found to exist which reveal the stage of sex consciousness. Though feastings and lascivious dancings are no longer meant to stimulate the sexual passion, yet there is free sex indulgence during annual worship-festivals and ceremonies which release so to speak, the pent up energy repressed during the period of strenuous field work associated with the harvesting season. Sex is seldom inhibited except within the prohibited degree of relationship or consanguinity and the procreative power of the young man is believed to be augmented by a probationary period in the village dormitories, where under the careful guidance of the chief of the dormitory house, the novice passes through all the magical rites supposed to increase fecundity and thus aid the multiplication of the tribe.

There is a fundamental difference in the sexual appetite of the two sexes. The male is active, restless and very often inconsistent. the female passive, quiet and sincere, though environment has often influenced her to part company with one or the other. The male is easily influenced and easily excited, while the female requires prolonged stimulus to rise to the level of fervour

displayed by the male. A dance at the village *akhara* is sufficient to excite the sex instincts of man while a woman requires such prolonged stimulation as, for instance, a certain arrangement in the dancing ring, the alternation of the male and the female tied arm in arm and a continuous dance for a considerable period. The proposal always emanates from the man and the woman's placidity makes it possible for her to wait and judge the offer on its own merits, for her choice is born of a consistency unknown to man. So this superiority of woman in the adjustment of sex appetite has placed woman in an enviable position in all phases of society, and, where physical domination over woman is outside the realm of practicability, the woman's status is ensured in the social life of the community. Marriage by capture has placed physical control in the hands of the captor and so the position of woman in tribes who practise marriage by capture has been one of subservience to maledom. With the growth of appreciation of the property value of woman and social agreement as to the utility of a more or less permanent bond between man and woman, the position of woman was greatly improved and social rules and tabus were invented which brought into existence a code of moral or social control. Social control made it possible for woman to accept or reject a proposal, and thus attempts were made by man to excite the sentiment of woman by inventing attractive decorations, dress and ornaments. Tattooings also originated in the desire of primitive man to attract the opposite sex and

mutilations and cicatrices followed suit. But the intensity of attraction excited by these designs was not sufficient to induce the women of the village, for close association from childhood precludes the possibility of realising the *mana* possessed by a man living in the same village as the woman. The existence of a stimulus or tendency to seek unfamiliar sexual alliances also stands against the union of village mates and thus explains the local exogamy of many primitive tribes. Successful sexual selection and exogamy thus went together. Matrilocal residence was possible in primitive societies due to the predatory instinct of man which made man a constant wanderer in woods and jungles in quest of games and an occasional visitor in the house of his mate. The children grew up in the house of the mother and had little or no connection with the father, and the settled nature of woman made an intimate association between mother and children possible. Matrilocal residence places the mother's brother in an enviable position, being the habitual guardian of his sister and her children, and customs and observances which show the importance of avunculate in advanced societies are survivals of a stage of matrilocal residence. Kinship was first traced to the female parent and her relations, but later on, with the change from a nomadic to agricultural stage the paternal line was recognised and the line of descent began to be reckoned from the father. The change did not come all on a sudden nor did it occur everywhere, for regional factors and

the economic independence of woman failed to react on the mode of residence. So even now maternal, paternal and maternal-paternal descent are reckoned in different tribes. The importance of matrilocal residence is evident from the honour, privilege and proprietary rights enjoyed by ancient Egyptian and Babylonian wives as well as among many of the primitive tribes in all parts of the globe, who practise matrilocal residence or did it till recently.

Turning from these abstract ideas of social formation and adjustment, let us proceed to describe the conception of sex and sex control in primitive society. The growth of sex-consciousness was followed by sex-attractiveness occasioned by the influence of *mana*, physical strength, artificial charms such as paintings, tattooings and cicatrices on the body, dress, ornaments, weapons, etc. Beauty, as we understand it, was not recognised as adding to sex-attractiveness but artificial deformations, mutilations and decorations were much appreciated and valued. The greater the *mana* possessed by a man the higher was he in the estimation of the woman and this *mana* attracted more than one woman to his side. So chiefs and heroes could attract more woman than ordinary persons. Polygyny may be traced to this influence of *mana*, except where causes, economic or biological, have disturbed the balance of the sexes and thus paved the way to polygyny. The conception of *mana* or mystic power has arisen from different causes. Wealth, military prowess, dexterity in hunting and games, skilful construction of huts, knowledge of

magical formulas to safeguard the weak from the hands of witches and sorcerers or other miscreants add to the mana of a person. So sex in primitive society has played round this conception of *mana*.

Analysis of marriage rites brings to the forefront the influence of sex-tabu on primitive mind. Until puberty sets in no cohabitation is possible, so marriage is generally held after puberty, for manhood is synonymous with puberty. Even if a girl is married before puberty she does not leave her house until she arrives at puberty. Now, everywhere puberty rites and ceremonies are observed and sex relationship is tabooed before the actual ceremonies are performed. The violation of this taboo requires a store of *mana* which an ordinary man does not possess. So the custom in many tribes is to allow the priest to co-habit with the bride on the first night after marriage which means that the priest with a higher *mana* can, without the least difficulty, break the taboo, and thus help the bridegroom to enjoy the bliss of marriage without any dread of unknown fears. A step higher in the evolution of society is marked by the Nair custom of marrying the girl ceremonially to the priest first, then to the actual husband; so the sex taboo is believed to be violated by the priest, and the actual husband has nothing to fear from consequent sexual relations with the bride.

Separation of boys and girls at an early stage of life is found in savage society. This may have

been occasioned by more potent causes but the idea has worked its way in a significant manner in primitive society which testifies to its indigenous character. The parents who are conscious of the sex relationship between themselves do not favour the repetition of the same relationship between the brother and sister, so the earliest opportunity is availed of sending the boys to the unmarried boys' hut and the girls to an elderly *duenna* of the village who superintends over the girls' hut. In case society does not possess this institution, boys and girls are housed in separate huts and keen invigilance is exercised to repress any sexual relation between immature youths and maidens. This practice illustrates the universality of sex-consciousness which has given rise to an elaborate code of incest prohibitions that distinguish the primitive from the advanced peoples. The violation of an incest taboo between brother and sister is very much resented in savage society and it guards the recurrence of such incest by social prerogatives. Similarly members belonging to the same section of the tribe, whether totemistic or eponymous, forbid sexual relations within the group and the violation of this taboo is an incest which the society must avenge. Consanguinity or blood relationship forbids persons to enter into sexual relations with one another and is considered as the greatest incest imaginable and is met with an exemplary punishment from society. Society does not always take active part in such cases for the consciousness of the crime is enough

to produce a horror in the mind of the offender which ultimately leads to natural death or suicide. The *mana* resulting from the violation of an incest prohibition avenges itself and the offender willingly submits to his deserts.

Sex control is also practised in a number of ways which have escaped observation. The birth of a child means physical strain on the mother and for a time sexual relations between parents are tabooed. The interval varies with tribes and regions and the prohibition also applies either to father or to mother or both. In some tribes the mother and the child are secluded in a room, where the husband is forbidden to enter, in some tribes again the father with the baby are shut up in the room while the mother comes out and takes part in the domestic duties and activities.

Sex control has been indirectly achieved in primitive societies by limiting the period of marriage. In every tribe there are customary restrictions for arranging marriages during certain months of the year. The period when marriage is practicable has been prescribed from economic considerations. Marriage is a tribal affair and it requires the co-operation of all the members of the village as well as some sort of adjustment between the two villages which enter into alliance. Besides, the families that contract the relationship have to undergo certain expenses for which the parties should be prepared beforehand. So for convenience sake marriages are arranged at a period when the people have the necessary leisure or can afford to pay for the

ceremonial expenses, in other words, during the interval when the harvesting season is over and before the next sowing operations begin. Indirect checks have been prescribed for the limitation of the period of marriage in primitive societies, eg. the divine marriage of the Munda-Dravidian tribes of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. Marriage cannot be performed before this divine marriage is consummated. Nature regarded as the lawful bride of the Sun-god or Singbonga, the Creator of the primitive people of the plateau, is annually married to the Sun during the Spring season, when she wears the garland of *mahua* flowers (*bassia latifolia*) and is ready to unite with the resplendent Sun, from whom she receives all her energy. The part of the Sun is played by the Deuri, Pahan or priest and his wife plays the role of Nature and this divine marriage is ceremonially consummated every year before earthly marriages can be arranged. So all earthly marriages are celebrated after this divine marriage and the period of marriage comes to an abrupt end immediately before the rains set in and sowing operations begin. Sex is therefore indirectly controlled for a considerable part of the year. During the annual summer hunt or Bisu Sikar of the Orāons, when the villagers who are able to take part in the hunt leave the village for a week or so all the members of their families left behind in their villages must observe strict sexual continence. The sexual cantinence is apparently directed against unfamiliar intimacy in the absence

of villagers or is meant as a taboo against incest but not for the success of the hunting party, for in the lower stages of culture, sexual activity is regarded as synonymous with fecundity or productivity and therefore with abundance of games. Nor is this continence due to primitive man's ignorance of the law of contradiction which some scholars would have us believe to be the case.

With this preliminary review of the importance of sex and sex relationship in primitive society, let us illustrate the system of sex control as it prevails among one of the primitive tribes of the Choto-Nagpur plateau about whom I have personal knowledge, having lived with them for a considerable period extending over three years. With a working knowledge of the dialect of the people, I had little or no difficulty in conversing with them freely on all matters and a friendly relation grew up between them and me which made it possible for me to interpret most of their actions in the light of their experience. The tribe belongs to the Munda stock and may be termed as a remnant of the primitive pre-Dravidian substratum in India. The locality they inhabit now is known as Kolhan, a protected area in the district of Singbhum in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. Originally hunters, they have now settled as agriculturists in the protected area, free to some extent from the direct influence of cultured races which inhabit all around. Their hunting activities have now been completely suppressed by the

introduction of strict forest laws which forbid killing games in the forest tract without the permission of forest officers, though mimetic dances representing hunting pursuits side by side with agricultural processes indicate the popular tendency. They are not peaceful cultivators, for the memory of a Kol rising is still green in the minds of the authorities who had to adjust their affairs in the light of the demands of the people.

A very interesting tribe, which has considerably multiplied during the last two or three decades, inhabiting a compact area, tracing descent in the paternal line with patrilocal residence, yet possessing avunculate which explains the transition of the people from matrilineal to patrilocal stage, furnishes some elementary forms of sex-consciousness and sex taboos which will explain the process of evolution in sex conception. The stage of promiscuity before marriage as has been described by the authorities responsible for the Ethnographical Survey of India, is unknown among these children of the Sun, although premarital licence exists in some form among them. Sex control is exercised by society in the form of sex taboos and incest prohibitions which forbid not only incest between consanguineous relations but also between members belonging to the same local unit. The part played by society in avenging the violation of a sex taboo has been considerably minimised owing to the natural horror attending such acts of breach. It may be said that the violated taboo avenges itself and the man who violates it loses his sleep, has terrible nightmares and even at

day time does not escape strange visions, and he ultimately falls a victim to his own imaginings or commits suicide to expiate his crime. It was my good fortune to witness the suffering of a young man, a victim of like nature, and I attended his death-bed with sympathy and curiosity. The young man was distantly related to a friend of mine who helped me much during my ethnographical tours throughout the area under investigation. This young man, who has recently crossed the bar of life and in whom I have lost a most faithful aboriginal friend who accompanied me during most of my trips to the interior of Kolhan, took me to this scene where I could learn the force of the *mana* concealed in the taboo. The young man worked in the coalfields of Jharia and he had come back to his village during the Magē festival, absence from which without sufficient reason is considered as a crime as well as a sin. During the Magē dance in the village *akhara*, he fell a victim to lust and proposed to a young girl of the village belonging to the same *killi* as that of his own. The proposal was accepted and at dead of night he was discovered in the company of the girl in a place which made his crime explicit. The taboo had been violated and the young man was caught then and there. The village *panch* did not meet before one month from that date allowing sufficient time to the victim to expiate his crime. It was left to him to leave the house and native village and run to the coalfields where he usually worked but he did not like the idea. He was overpowered by the

gravity of the offence and the majesty of the *mana* he had violated and could not come to any decision how best he could atone for his misdeed. His thought naturally was concentrated on the crime and from that day his health and spirits rapidly declined. When we met him he was on his death-bed, with the village Dewa by his side chanting incantations and formulas to undo the malign influence of some dreaded power believed to have caused the malady to the young man but the determined gaze in the eyes of the young man unnerved us and we realised the seriousness of the situation. The man had high fever and his eyes were steadfast on an object outside, which we could not guess. Gradually we sat by his side and my friend elicited all the informations I have stated above and towards the end gave his final answer. "I have earned my death and I am dying." Two days afterwards the news of his death reached us, which grieved us much but did not surprise me in the least.

On another occasion I had the good fortune to be present at a social gathering of the tribesmen where one of the villagers was to perform the ceremony of expiation for his crime, having violated a sex taboo within the prohibited degree of relationship. The girl was his paternal cousin and as such belonged to the same *killi* as also the same consanguineous group. The village *panch* held its sitting under a big mango tree in the field near the village. The young man was sitting with his father and paternal uncle, all with folded

hands. I reached the place immediately before the actual proceedings began and could follow the transactions in detail. I thought that the charges would be stated by the paternal uncle who in this particular case was the aggrieved party, but to my surprise the contrary was the case. The paternal uncle tried his level best to shield his nephew from the charges of the village Dakua or bailiff and at every mention of the crime the old man grew more and more nervous. When the charges were stated and attested by the Dakua and a number of villagers, the young man was asked to defend himself which he did not, for he maintained a solemn silence all through. The Munda who presided over the council of elders summed up the proceedings in a brief statement. He accused the parents of the young man and the girl who in this case were brothers. The father of the girl was asked to arrange for the marriage of the girl within two months from date, which could be done by bribing some young man of a different *killi* to marry the girl. The young man was asked whether he wanted to expiate for his crime, and, if so, he should ask the permission of his father which the latter at once granted. Then followed an elaborate ceremonial purification. Before all the tribesmen the village Deuri prepared a small plot of land nearly two cubits by three, rinsed it with cowdung solution and led the youngman to the village *bandh* for a ceremonial bath. The father of the young man brought a new cloth for his son which the latter put on after bathing. He was led back to the place of sacrifice and had to sit face to face with

the Deuri. The Deuri began to utter vociferous incantations for a considerable period after which he sacrificed a red fowl to the Desauli or the village deity. The blood of the red fowl was poured on a plate made of *sal* leaves and the body thrown aside. As soon as the preliminaries were completed, a few drops of blood from the plate was mixed with *handiā* or rice beer and was given to the young man to drink which he did before all the villagers. The rest of the rice-beer was distributed amongst the villagers present; and thus terminated one of the interesting episodes of their tribal life.

The instances cited above represent the actual state of things in the particular culture zone. The sex control exercised by society is manifest in a way which leads us to conclude that within this tribe at least society takes active part to remedy any such breach and the violation is generally avenged by society and not by the parties concerned. The first case, of course, gives an idea of an automatic response to customary observances in savage society; the consciousness of the *mana* or mystic force, call it moral, or social, concealed in the taboo, worked its vengeance and the young man could not stand the horror occasioned by the violation of the taboo. In the second case the *mana* lost its innate force and it was left to the society to uphold the cause of the violated *mana* by social prescriptions and code of conduct. But the horror of the breach manifested itself here also in the blood of the sacrificed fowl and restoration to the norm of the tribe was ceremonially observed by the offender and then the tribesmen drinking the rice-beer to which a few drops of blood were added.

MISCELLANEOUS 'CONTRIBUTIONS.'

I. SOME ANIMALS AND THEIR WORSHIP.

Snakes have their place in the *pujas*. The Lingas have snakes made of silver or copper on their heads and *pujas* are offered to them. Durga holds a snake in one of her hands and in her autumn worship it is not disregarded altogether, but obtains its proper *puja* along with the idol. Manasa is worshipped in Bengal and Orissa in the month of Sravan. She is the presiding goddess of snakes and honour done to her cannot but enhance the dignity of those over whom she presides. The Kewats and other fishing castes who have to go into water in the dark often worship Manasa with great grandeur as they look up to her for protection against snake-bites almost every day.

Bastu-snakes are the protecting snakes of the house. It is widely believed throughout Orissa that they do no harm to the members of the family. They often guard them against thieves and robbers. They are often of the cobra class. They guard any hidden treasure that may be buried in the homestead. They often live inside the temple where the family idol is worshipped. It is considered a very grave sin to kill a *bastu*-snake. We do not know of any people in Orissa who worship snakes so that they may be appeased. Even non-Aryan races do not do any such thing. They all set up a symbol that represents the killing power of snake-bites and *puja* is offered to it with the sacrifice of goats and fowls. The

Jackal is an attendant upon goddess Kali and is worshipped as such. There are jackals almost tame, living in jungles near the temple of Kali. They respond to the call of the priest who worships the idol and come to take what is offered to them with pious devotion.

All tigers are not man-eaters. Some of them do not touch man at all but live on wild animals. They are often said to be the familiars of some village deities, who ride on them at night. People believe that they do not do the least harm to man unless the deity for some reason or other is angry with her victim. Basuli, a village deity, is said to have tigers as her familiars. People regard it a great sin to kill these tigers, as they are sacred and inoffensive.

The cow is considered sacred by the Hindus throughout India. There are certain ceremonies in connection with her pūjā. We shall deal with a few of them here. In the month of Bhādra about a month before Durgā-pūjā, a worship is held in some parts of the country in the Guhala or room in which the cows are kept. The worship is done by a priest. The goddess Bhagabati, another form of Durga is worshipped. All cows are said to be the symbolical representations of the goddess Bhagabāti. Washed rice and peeled mug are offered to her. A lemon or a cucumber is cut as a *bali* or sacrifice. No image of the goddess is made on the occasion. It is said that worship performed once in the year keeps the cattle in good health. It appears that this worship

is a time-honoured worship. In the Vishnu-purānam we have the following verses :—

“O father, the man who worships another's deity, receiving the fruit from his own, does not obtain a prosperous situation either in this world or in the next. Where the land is no longer cultivated, there are limits assigned, beyond which begins the forest, the forests are bounded by hills and so far do our limits extend. We are not confined within doors or walls, we have neither fields nor homes ; we wander about happily wherever we like in our waggons. We have heard that the spirits of the mountains, assuming whatever shapes they like, walk in the woods upon their own pricipices. If they are displeased with those who inhabit the forests, then transforming themselves to lions and beasts of prey, they will kill the offenders. We are thus bound to worship the mountains and offer sacrifices to cattle. What have we to do with Indra ? Cattle and mountains are our gods. Brahmans offer worship with prayer ; cultivators of the earth worship their land-marks, but we who tend our cattle in the forests and mountains, should worship them and our kine”.

The sacrifice of lemons and cucumbers is all that remains now of the sacrifice to the kine mentioned in the *Vishnu-Purana*.

It is believed that a man who offers grass to a cow regularly after finishing his morning bath will be saved from an impending trouble or calamity. This belief makes a litigant who has a suit pending

offer grass to a cow after finishing his morning bath in the hope that the action would terminate in his favour.

The chief festival of the milk-man caste is the *Dol-Purnima* festival in the month of Fālgun. On this day printings are made with rice-paste on the floor of the cattle-shed. A new earthen pot is set up and decorated with vermilion and flowers. A piece of new cloth is placed on this earthen pot. No priest takes part in this *pūjā*. Various kinds of offerings including rice-cakes, sweets etc. are offered to this earthen pot and the *pūjā* is finished with great rejoicing. There is a cow in the herd known as *Bundā-garu*. She is decorated with flower garlands and marks of ochre and other colours. Rice-cakes and sweets, offered before the earthen pot, are then given to the *Bundā garu*. If she dies one of her calves is selected and the *pūjā* is confined to her descendants in the female line. The *Gowalas* believe that the crow and the progenitor of their caste were created on *Dol-Purnima* day long ago. The cloth is put on the neck of the cow and is not taken off unless it falls down by her movements. No other day is set apart for the worship of the cow in general. The gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are said to reside in the different parts of a cow's body and if we accidentally touch her with our feet an atoning bow has to be made to her.

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M. A., B. L.

II. SUPPOSED ANIMATION OF INANIMATE OBJECTS.

In popular belief some inanimate objects are supposed to live under certain conditions. We shall give a few specific instances of popular superstition on the point.

Big logs of wood that have been under water for a pretty long time are supposed to be endowed with life and animation. All kinds of wood do not come to life in this way. Some say that the logs of trees on which tigers have yawned become endowed with life and animation quite readily if kept under water. Others say, however, that logs that have come into contact with blood readily come to life if put under water. If by some chance a sacrificial post gets into water it becomes alive very soon. A log or a post that has acquired life preys upon man and animal who happen to go into water. It takes its victims into deep water, drowns them and then slowly eats up their dead bodies.

Laterite stones also acquire life and animation if they are kept in water for a long time. It is a fact that some laterite stones are seen to grow distinctly by the slow accretion of molecules and this might have furnished a basis for the popular superstition. Stones that have become alive float in water when they like. They kill men and beasts. People do not use the water of the tank in which they are supposed to be found.

A queer superstition attaches to the country

boats that ply in rivers and channels. Every boat is supposed to have a life of its own. This is a primitive belief shared by the boatmen of Malabar as well as of the Chinese Junks that ply in the creeks of the Yellow sea. In this country some puja is offered to a boat when it is first launched into water and also before it starts on a distant voyage, specially if its path will lie through the sea. But the normal life of a boat is not at all dangerous. Eyes are painted on the prow in vermilion to give an indication that the boat is a living thing and can see its way in water. But a boat acquires quite a different life accidentally and in very rare cases. It then goes down with all hands, without any reason whatsoever, and devours the crew. It lives under water for all time and appears occasionally above water as a phantom-boat in the still hours of the night. Some carpenters know how to give the boat they make a mischievous propensity from the time of their construction. They are said to make a small cavity in the body of the boat, to put a few drops of their own blood into it and to plug it up tightly. A boat so made is sure to go under water with all hands in its maiden voyage. Carpenters give this dangerous turn to their boats to punish the owners if they quarrel with them and withhold their legitimate dues.

Blood is life. A log or piece of wood that comes into contact with blood becomes alive. This is a conjecture of illiterate men who cannot distinguish one thing from another.

A *kharga* (sword) with which animals are sacrificed before goddesses is said to have a life of its own. Eyes are painted on its blade with vermilion. It discharges its usual function of cutting down the sacrificed animals with one stroke. If by chance it slips into a tank or a river, it takes a mischievous turn and cuts away the feet of men and animals who happen to go into water.

Another thing that becomes alive by being immersed in water is what is known as *Ashabari*. It is a stout post of *sal* wood smeared with vermilion, standing erect in the temple of Kali, Sitala or Basuli. A woodman falling in danger in the Sundarbans prays to one of these goddesses for saving him and makes a vow to dedicate an *Ashabari* to the idol on his safe return home. This he does without fail if the danger passes off and he returns home hale and hearty. By reason of its association with the goddess before whom animals are sacrificed an *Ashabari* like a *Kharga* or a sacrificial post gets a latent life which develops when it goes under water. It then preys upon men and animals like an alligator or a crocodile. The superstitions noted above are found chiefly in the District of Midnapur. They are primitive superstitions and are current for a long time.

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M.A., B.L.

III. A RAJA'S FUNERAL IN THE FEUDATORY STATES OF ORISSA.

The feudatory states of Orissa are very old. Some of the ruling Chiefs of these states can trace back their descent for a thousand years or so. They have retained some ancient customs, which cannot be found anywhere else. The funeral rites of some of these ruling Chiefs are strikingly primitive and have their parallels among many primitive people living in distant countries of the World.

As soon as a Raja dies, his dead body is preserved, if his successor is not near at hand, by being steeped in oil. The successor to the throne is summoned without delay. He quickly goes through his coronation ceremonies which are not the same for every State. After the ceremonies are over, the new Raja sits on his throne and occupies himself with some light work, while the State band plays an air of rejoicing. A senior member of his menial staff approaches him and says, "My lord, so and so has just expired". The Raja says, "If this is so, I order you to remove the dead body at once, through the special gate of the palace and to cremate it with so much clarified butter at a specified expense". The boundary wall is often broken and a passage is made through which the bier is carried to the place of cremation. In some places there is a special gate for the purpose which is opened only on an occasion like this. The cremation takes

place in a costly style. The pyre is often made of sandal wood and clarified butter is freely poured into the fire. The successor to the throne does not observe any period of mourning. No pollution attaches to him by reason of the death of his father, brother or other near relation as the case may be.

The divine rights of a King, his superiority over all his subjects, and his disregard of all laws, including the *Shastric* injunction about the period of mourning and pollution are amply stressed in the funeral ceremony. The throne cannot be vacant even for a few minutes. The absence of the supreme centralised authority in the state even for a very short time, may cause very grave disaster to the subjects. It may draw down enemies from abroad. The ceremony has been specially framed to hide the fact of death so long as the new Raja does not actually sit on the throne and assume the reins of his state. We do not hear any mournful tune on the occasion for the very same reason. On the contrary, every body in the palace puts on an appearance of cheerfulness to hoodwink all intriguers, both inside the state as also outside it. It must be said here that the ceremony had come into vogue long before the Britishers established peace and order in the mountainous tracts of Orissa.

The custom of taking the dead body out of the palace through a special gate, reserved for the purpose or by breaking open the boundary wall at one place and closing it up immediately after

the dead body has passed, deserves a little more elaborate notice. The dead body is inauspicious and it should not pass through the main gate of the palace. In the second place, it is desirable to take the dead body out through such a door or passage as the ghost or spirit cannot easily find if it tries to enter the palace after the cremation, when it is freed from the dead body. A dodge is practised to baulk any attempt of the dead to return. Anthropologists know that in the Solomon Islands the funeral procession comes back by another road, lest the corpse should follow; the Hottentots remove their dead by special openings in their huts; the Minahassas of Celebes before burying a corpse thrust it into a hole in the floor, and carry it three times round the house; in Homer the dead Patroclus was laid with the feet towards the tent, and in some parts of Europe to this day the body is carried from the house with the feet outwards.

In the customary rites of civilised and the semi-civilised races we have always a mixture of primitive beliefs which often pass unnoticed.

SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M.A., B.L.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for August, 1929, Mr. K. De B. Codrington writes a *Note on the Pottery of Bhita, United Provinces, India* in which he points out the strange lack of differentiation and distinction shown in the Report of the Archæological Survey of India (1911-1912) on the pottery finds at Bhita. He points out that the wares classified in the Report as 'Primitive' are only 'Pre-Mauryan' and many of the terra-cottas described as 'Primitive' are definitely comparable with sculptures of Barhut and Sanchi [second or first century B. C.]. According to Mr. Codrington there does not seem to be any evidence for a division of the bottom strata at Bhita into two periods or for dating them earlier than second century B. C., and at Bhita, occupation during two distinct periods has occurred with a lapse of some centuries in between, as is "typical of Indian city-sites which are fungoid in growth, exhausting the soil they cover, but returning to it after a period.

In *Man* for September, 1929, Captain D. H. Gordon, D. S. O., contributes a note on *The Zar and the Bhut, a Comparison*, in which he shows that *Zar* (a name applied in Southern Arabia to almost anything of a supernatural form) in every way conforms to the present-day ideas of the *Bhut* in Northern India, where *bhut* not only applies to possession exemplified by epilepsy, hysteria and

other less attributable symptoms, but also ghosts and similar supernatural phenomena.

In *Man* for October, 1929, Mr. K. de B. Codrington contributes a note on *Ancient Indian Hand-Mirrors*. Representations of hand-mirrors on railing-pillars in the Bharhut-Stupa (Rewa State), on frescoes at Ajanta, and in urn-burials at Adittanallur (Tinnevely District) are discussed. The Bharhut Sculptures may be dated 2nd century, B. C. and the Ajanta frescoes 6th century A. D.. The Adittanallur mirrors taken in conjunction with certain pottery forms and sword and hatchet types, may be tentatively taken as indications that the urn-burial culture cannot be divorced from the general culture of India made known to us at historical sites and by modern survivals.

In *the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Vol. XXIII, 1927, no. 3) issued in February 1929, Mr. R. D. Banerji contributes an illustrated article on "The Indian Affinities of the Ainu Potter". From certain affinities between the prehistoric potteries of Japan, India, Mesopotamia, Central Asia and Crete, Mr. Banerji concludes that in the later phase of the neolithic period or the copper age there was direct communication between the people living along the eastern and southern sea-boards of Asia

In the same number of the *J. A. S. B.*, Mrs. C. De Beauvoir Stocks writes a short paper on "*Haramukh Legends*" or the cycle of legends relating to the holy mountain named *Haramukh*. In the same number of the *J. A. S. B.* Mr. D.

N. Majumdar describes "Some of the Worship Festivals of the Hos of Kolhan" in Chota Nagpur, Mr. K. N. Chatterji writes an article on "*The Use of Nose Ornaments in India*", Dr. P. C. Mahalanobis contributes an article headed 'Analysis of Race-Mixture in Bengal', in which he makes a statistical analysis of certain available anthropometrical data relating to thirty Indian castes and tribes. In the same number of *J. A. S. B.*, Mr. Kalipada Mitra describes 'Marriage Customs in Behar', and Mr. K. P. Chattopodhyaya describes the "Social Organisation of the Satakarnis and Sungas'.

In the *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society* for March-June, 1929, Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar contributes 'Dravidian Notes', Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, gives certain *Glimpses into Primitive Life* (The Hos of Singbhum), Prof. S. C. Mitra, writes "On the North Bihari Cult of of the Goddessling Tushari and its Bengali Analogues', 'A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur', and 'On the Birhor Folktale of the Wicked Queen's Type'.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June 1929, Dr. E. J. Thomas contributes an article on 'The So-called Indo-Aryan Invasion of India—Not a Myth', Mr. G. Ramdas writes on 'Ravana and His Tribes', in which he attempts to identify the Rakshasas of the Epics with Kui tribes, and Mr. Radhagobind Basak writes on 'Indian Society as pictured in the *Mrichakatika*' (when life was 'one more of play and pleasure than of pity and pain') Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar contributes 'Notes on Dravidian'. In the same journal for September, 1929,

Mr. Manindra Nath Banerjee, in an interesting article on 'Iron and Steel in the Rigvedic Age' attempts to show that the Rig Vedic smith used to manufacture steel direct from the ore in an open hearth, adjusted with bellows and fire and covered over with dried medicinal plants, and heated the whole until the product began to fuse when birds' wings were added for the proper and final carburisation of the mass, which at the end of the operation, was frequently hammered into steel.

In the *Visva-Bharati Quartely* for April-July, 1929, Mr. Nihar Ranjan Ray writes an interesting and suggestive paper on 'Bramhinical Gods in Buddhist Burma'.

In *The Quaterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for October, 1929, Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, contributes a paper on 'Austrie and Dravidian', Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, writes on the 'Pre-historic Archæology of Kerala', Mr. C. H. Rao on "Traders' Slangs in South India", and Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his 'Studies in Bird-Myths' and 'Studies in Plant Myths'.

In *The Assam Review* for August, 1929, Rev. W. H. S. Wood continues his account of 'British Relations with the Angami Nagas', which is further continued in the October and November numbers of the same Review. In the October and also in the November number of the *Assam Review* the second and third parts respectively of the late J. E. Needham's 'Report on the Abor Villages beyond British Frontier' (1884) is published.

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* for September, October and November, Mr. C. H. Rao continues his *Studies in Indian Caste System*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

An Introduction to Sociology.—*Edited by Jerome Davis, Ph. D., and Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph. D. (D. C. Heath & Co. 1928) PP. XXIV+926. Price \$ 4. 48.*

Readings in Sociology.—*Edited by Jerome Davis, Ph. D., and Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph. D. (D. C. Heath & Co. 1928) PP. XVIII+1015. Price \$ 6. 0. 0.*

These two books form volumes one and two of the *Heath Social Relations Series*, the titles of these and other promised volumes of which series and the names of their authors raise great expectations in the mind of the student. The volumes under review would appear to amply justify these expectations. The matter and manner of these two volumes make them particularly well-suited as reliable up-to-date text-books for advanced students of Sociology. Although the volumes are particularly meant for American students, they will be found very useful and instructive by students outside America as well. The first volume is a behaviouristic study of American Society, and the second volume which contains collateral readings to accompany the former is a classified collection of well-chosen source material for the sociological course comprised in the first volume. Starting with the definition of Sociology as, "*the science which attempts to describe the origin, growth, structure, and functioning of*

group life by the operation of geographical, biological, psychological, and cultural forces operating in interpenetration through a process of evolution", the authors proceed in the light of this definition to give as clear a picture as they can of American Society. Of the four parts (called Books) in which the volume is divided, Book I traces the history of the "Great (American) Society" from its origins, through the "Early River Valley Civilizations" down to the industrialization of our contemporary acquisitive society. In Book II, the authors analyze the four major forces which are shaping the social order at any given moment, the effect of physical environment upon sociological conditions in the United States, the biological factors in social life, the psychological foundations of Society and its cultural heritage. In Book III, the authors describe the product of these operating forces, namely, the types of social groups, their organization and control. Finally, in Book IV the authors consider the application of sociology to some of the great outstanding problems of our time, the reconstruction of society, the American home, the conservation of health, recreation, poverty, crime, racial conflict, and the economic order. The five outstanding particulars which mark out the sociological course presented in the first volume from previous text-books are thus set forth in the Introduction to the volume:

"First, it is a joint creative product of many minds. For a long time, sociologists and others interested in the science of society have longed for an introductory text which was not based on some one particularistic theory. The present treatise

is unique in being the co-operative endeavour of a group of seven sociologists of standing, each of whom has specialized in some one particular aspect and contributes his own findings to the composite picture. The men selected were chosen both because of the quality of material which they have already published and because they were known to be fearless in their search for truth. *Second*, it is the first general text-book on Sociology to take into account the important cultural approach to social analysis, first systematically expounded by Professor W. F. Ogburn in his book on *Social Change*. *Third*, this is the first sociological text which frankly attempts to make a behavioristic study of Society. It also deals to an unprecedented degree with the science of sociology as it is applied to the concrete problems which Americans are facing in the social order of our time. The text itself has been hammered out in the 'give and take' of class-room use. Each one of the authors has been shaping and reshaping his materials through years of experimentation. *Fourth*, the volume is unique in its use of the case method. Each chapter is followed by case problems which grip the interest of the student and almost compel him to think about the principles presented. Some teachers may wish to suggest that the student read these in advance of each Chapter. There are also problems for research and a bibliography for those students who want to penetrate further into each of the subjects discussed. The carefully selected readings collected in the second volume are correlated with the material as presented in the first volume." We heartily commend the volumes to all students of sociology.

Hindu Exogamy.—By S. V. Karandikar, M. A. (Taraporevala, 1928). PP. 308. Price Rs. 6/-

In this book we have for the first time, an elaborate and clear exposition of the organization of Hindu society into *gotras* and *pravaras*, and

the system of exogamy based thereon. After a diligent enquiry into relevant literature, the learned author finds that sept exogamy was altogether absent among ancient Indo-Aryans and their cousins the Indo-Iranians but that although *sapinda* marriage (or marriage within certain degrees of genealogical relationship) was interdicted in ancient India, *sagotra* marriage (union within the gens or sept outside the prohibited degrees) was widely prevalent. The author points out that there is no reference whatsoever to sept-exogamy in the Rig Veda, and only meagre references to it in the Brahmanas. From this he legitimately infers that sept-exogamy was adopted by the Aryans of India from the indigenous non-Aryan races during the period of the composition of the *Brahmana* literature, and that the rule of sept-exogamy was very loose in those days. The author then proceeds to show that the organisation of Hindu Society on the basis of sept-exogamy came to be slowly built up from the beginning of the *Brāhmaṇa* period to the end of the *Sutra* period. It is pointed out that even during the period of the composition of the *Sutra* literature, the rule of sept-exogamy was but loosely followed by the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas, and that "even the Brāhmins had not fully imbibed the new cult". It was not until after the thirteenth century that the rule grew inflexible and its breach uncommon and attended with penalty by way of penances.

The author concludes his excellent volume with a discussion of Hindu Exogamy from the point of view of Engenics and makes a strong plea for

a re-examination by the Brāhman of the existing exogamous restrictions with a view to introduce suitable changes in the rules, and appeals to the non-Brāhman and aboriginal tribes to analyse and sift each Brāhmanical dogma before adopting it.

The author has placed students of Hindu sociology in his debt by publishing the result of his researches into the origin and history of Hindu Exogamy in this well-written and nicely got up volume. Students of Indian Ethnology will be further interested in the good summary, presented in Chapter XI, of exogamous customs among non-Brāhman Hindu and Hinduised castes and aboriginal tribes, so far as can be gleaned from the incomplete and, in some cases, inaccurate accounts compiled by such pioneers as Risley, Crooke, Thurston, Russell, Enthoven, &c.

Munda—Magyar—Maori. An Indian Link between the Antipodes. New Tracks of Hungarian Origins.—By F. A. Uxbond. (Luzac 1928).

The volume before us breaks new ground and opens up a fresh field for research. The notable researches of Pater Schmidt revealed the existence of a great family of allied languages which he terms the 'Austrie', with its two branches, the *Austronesian* (which includes the Polynesian, Melanesian and Indonesian languages) and the *Austro-Asiatic* (which includes the Monkhmer and Munda groups of languages and dialects). This

great linguistic family was shown by Schmidt to extend from Easter Island near the South-American coast to Madagascar and from New Zealand up to the Punjab, thus spreading over the largest area in the world. Mr. Uxbond attempts in this volume to extend the territorial limits of the Austric family much further still and brings forward a mass of linguistic and other cultural data to prove the close relationship of the Magyar language (dialects) of Hungary to the Austric family through the Munda languages of India. The author divides his material into three categories, namely, (1) material which is naturally not sufficient to justify any definite conclusion but which may give eventual starting points for further research; (2) material which, if carefully used and adequately supplemented, may already allow expert scholars to draw certain definite deductions; (3) material which, Mr. Uxbond thinks, "will supply even to the uninitiated a number of immediate conclusions". One such conclusion, to which alone the author restricts himself in this volume, is "the close relationship between Magyar and Munda, and thus a relationship between Magyar and Maori". Most anthropologists and philologists will remain sceptical about it unless more convincing data can be produced.

In justice to the learned author, however, it must be pointed out that he frankly admits that in the present state of our knowledge, the points of contact between 'Polynesian' and 'Magyar' through 'Munda' can be treated only superficially and in their general outlines, and that available

material is not yet sufficient to justify any definite conclusion. As a matter of fact, in the comparative vocabulary of *Munda* (Santal) and *Magyar* words which extends over 236 pages of this volume, we find that about 30 per cent of the so-called 'Santal' words selected by Mr. Uxbond, are really Sanskritic in origin and a few are Persian. Some of the details given in the book about the Munda tribes might also be criticised. But, for all that, we admire the author's labourious research and welcome the book as pointing out possible fruitful lines of investigation.

Introductory Sociology.—By Albert Muntsch, S. J. and Henry S. Spalding, S. J. (*D. C. Heath & Co.* 1923). PP. XIV+466. Price \$ 2-48.

This book is divided into six parts headed respectively,—“Social Origins”, “Social Principles”, “Social Factors and Social Institutions”, and “Social Pathology”, “Social Action”, and “Selections for Collateral Reading”. Of these, Parts I, III (except chapter II) and IV have been written by Rev. Albert Muntsch and Parts II and V (and Chapter II of Part III) by Rev. Henry S. Spalding. In the Introduction we are told that the book has been written with a due consideration for the needs of Catholic Schools. Some of the outstanding features of the book are thus set forth in the Introduction:—

(1) It rejects the evolutionary theory of culture and establishes the Family and State on

the solid ground of Christian ethics.

(2) In no other book on the subject is there a clear exposition of the difference between principles and programs in social action.

(3) A sound exposition is given of postulates, and it is made evident just how sociology is related to other subjects.

(4) For the first time, certain social agencies, which have for many years been working for the welfare of our people, are given recognition. Such agencies, whose activities are briefly described, are the St. Vincent de Pau Society, the Knights of Columbus, and the Little Sisters of the Poor.

(5) In the discussion of crime, too much stress is laid neither on heredity nor on environment; but the multiplicity of factors that may be responsible for wrongdoing is pointed out, and the authors follow Dr. William Healy's plea for study of the "individual delinquent".

(6) Believing that sociology is eminently a practical science and would not deserve the devotion of earnest students of society if it offered no plans and methods for wider social welfare, the authors try to show how social tendencies may be directed to the greater social peace and happiness of society.

(7) The note of pessimism has been avoided. Throughout there is a healthy view of our social conditions, and even in the discussion of those evils which have become deep-seated, the authors try to maintain their poise and to suggest a

possible means for adjusting social ills.

As a text-book for Catholic students, for whom it is specially designed, this volume will prove useful. So far as the main teachings of the book are concerned they are, on the whole, in harmony with those generally accepted by sociologists, although Roman Catholic authorities are more copiously cited than others.

Principles of Sociology.—By *Fredrick E. Lumley*, (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1928). PP. XII+562. Price \$ 4.00.

This substantial volume is admirably suited as a text-book for advanced students in sociology. The author has drawn liberally from two main sources—*Science of Society* by Sumner and Keller, and an *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* by Park and Burgees which, as our author considers, represent the best statements of the prevailing points of view on the subject at the present time. The author has endeavoured to weave them together into something of a system. At the end of each chapter is appended appropriate questions for study and discussion, and at the end of the book are appended a general bibliography and a fairly exhaustive Index.

Introduction to Social Psychology : Mind in Society.—By Radha Kamal Mukerjee, M. A., Ph. D., and Narendra Nath Sen-Gupta, M. A., Ph. D. With a Foreward by Prof. Jerome Davis and Introduction by Prof. R. M. Yerkes. (D. C. Heath & Co. 1928). Price \$ 3-0-0.

This handy and well-written volume will serve as a suitable and helpful introduction to the study of Social Psychology. We have in this book a careful study of the mechanism and process by which the mental life of man is moulded into special patterns by the group environment. Certain special forms of group life, are sought to be explained in the light of the principles of behaviour deduced by our authors from their analysis of human group-life. Although sociologists may not agree in all respects with the authors' point of view, it will be generally admitted that the authors have handled the problems of social psychology very ably, and in quite an interesting and suggestive manner.

Cimmerii ? or Eurasians and Their Future.—By Cedric Dover (Modern Art Press, Calcutta 1929). PP. II+65. Price Rs. 1-8 as.

This well got-up and well-written book is, as the author tells us in the foreword, "an attempt to foster a proper appreciation of the Eurasian community and its problems, both in the Eurasians themselves and in the people of other communities

and nationalities, and to quicken a mutual understanding". The origin of the present Eurasian community in India is traced back to the early sixteenth century, the era of Portuguese power in India. The author shows how first by Catholic Christian zeal in the Portuguese era and then by a deliberate diplomatic policy in the early British period the Eurasians of India came into existence. Reference is made to an article ("Analysis of Race Mixture in Bengal by Dr. P. C. Mahalanobis") in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in which from a statistical and biometrical analysis of anthropometrical indices of a number of Eurasians of Calcutta, the learned Doctor concluded that "intermixture between Europeans and Indians occurred more frequently among the higher castes than the lower; and cultural status played a considerable part in determining Indo-European unions" and that the Eurasians of Bengal "represent a homogeneous front and a 'race' in the making". It is rightly pointed out by the author that this shows that it is not correct to assert "that the mothers of all half-castes are of the culturally inferior race". The author next refers to biological principles in support of his contention that the inferiority of the Eurasian is the result of 'environmental adversity' and not of heredity or 'the conflict of mixed blood'. Mr. Dover refers to a galaxy of famous Anglo-Indians or Eurasians in proof of the intellectual and other potentialities of the community. The author rightly concludes that "the road to Eurasian emancipation

lies not in supplication, nor only in righteous demands for fair and just treatment, but in developing themselves to be at least as good as the other fellow" through education and next through Unity and Harmony among Eurasians spread all over Asia. The author would drop the terms Anglo-Indian, Anglo-Burman, Anglo-Malayan and the like, and would class all such mixed communities by the good old term 'Eurasians', for, says our author, "there is nothing to be gained, but much to be lost, from this pathetic insistence on the 'Anglo'. It has brought ridicule on the community; it has strengthened its inferiority complex". The author points out that "the East is in no way inferior to the West", advises the White man to give up race prejudice, and fervently exhorts his fellow-Eurasians", "Play up, play up, and play the game". And we would heartily join in the author's optimistic expectation that "the Eurasian people, with their average yearly increase of two per cent, "will continue as a separate group, till that distant day when the broken barriers of race and creed will permit the men who recognise all the Earth as their nation to reflect wonderingly on the follies of their ancestors".

Immigration and Race Attitudes.—By Emory S. Bogardus with a Foreward by Jerome Davis. (D. C. Heath & Co. 1928). Pp. XI+268. Price \$ 1.80.

This is a most interesting and thought-provoking book on the theme of race attitudes which is at

the bottom of race problems and conflicts. Prof. Jerome Davies in the Foreword to this book thus describes the distinctive features of the book under review :—

“The present text is unique among all previous books on immigration in the following respects.

First, it makes use of the case method. Instead of treating the subject by using abstract material with a finely integrated theory, it presents case material of fascinating human interest—fascinating because true. Whatever principles are given are based on an overwhelming array of factual data.

Second, it is the only text which considers in detail the fundamental basis of all race relationships namely, racial attitude. The cause, consequences, and cures of racial complexes, stereotypes, and antipathies are fully treated. The author deals with changes in attitude, racial friendliness as well as the relation of the race problem to personality, public opinion, education, and social service.

Third, it is one of the few treatises which recognizes the necessity for giving at least as much attention to the attitude of the native-white American as to the various minority groups within our population.

Finally, the author has attempted to secure evidence for his study by statistical summaries of the ‘social distance’ of hundreds of Americans”.

We are at one with Prof. Jerome Davies in thinking that “Whether or not the conclusions

[of the author] at some time in the future will have to be modified, at present no student of immigration can afford to ignore them.

Travels and Settlements of Early Man. A Study of the Origins of Human Progress.—By T. S. Foster, M. A. (London: Ernest Benn. 1929). PP. 320. Price 21 S. net.

In this erudite and ambitious volume, the learned author has assiduously collected, collated and systematised from all parts of the world an immense store of materials bearing on the origin and history of the human race and human society from the close of the Pliocene period down to the beginnings of the historical period. Chapter I forms the general Introduction to the subject. In Chapter II headed 'The Primate Succession' the author deals briefly with the primate record of earlier zoological epochs. In Chapter III, headed 'Savage Europe', a condensed account is given of prehistoric races (*Eoanthropus*, Heidelberg and Neanderthaloid) and their culture. In Chapters IV & V headed respectively 'The Coming of Sapiens', we have a concise account of the appearance and dispersion of various ancestral types (*Aurignacian*, *Grimaldi*, *Cromagnon* and *Furuz* *) of modern man (*Nordic*, *Mediterranean* and *Alpine*) in Europe, and their cultures. Chapter V, headed 'The Near East' begins with the

* The first reference to this race actually occurs at P. 135 in Chapter V.

mesolithic interlude of prehistoric culture distinguished by the appearance of microlithic flints such as have been discovered in the desert of Gobi and appear to have been of an Asiatic plateau origin.

The likely processes of various degrees of Mongolian and Mongoloid differentiation of the ancestors of the Eastern stock are briefly suggested. Then follows the author's suggested account of the migrations of early man to different parts of the Near East (Chap. V), Barbarous Europe (chap. VI), the New World (chapter VII) and Polynesia (chapter IX). In Chapter VIII the author deals at length with his problematical Anatolian theory of man's dispersion. The learned author cites the Biblical narrative of the Flood and the subsequent dispersion of the descendants of Noah, and suggests the adoption of a middle course between the wholesale rejection or acceptance of the legendary sequence of events. He suggests that "the establishment of the first Susan culture was followed by an advance of pastoral tribes along the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf and that these, although at first repelled by the settled agricultural colonies, eventually established themselves in association with the cultivating and metal-working Anatolians". The author goes on to say, "We may from subsequent history credit the Anatolians with early progress in boat construction and navigation on the waters of the (Persian) Gulf nor is it improbable that the inundation would have caused them to retreat northwards in the direction of Ararat taking with them animals of southern

domestication. Such a retreat may have facilitated the acquisition of pastoral wealth that appears in the second period of the settlement at Anau. Again, it is reasonable to suppose that the inundation may have locally discredited Moon worship in the north to the extent of leading to a parallel or superior recognition of a Sun God, the revivifier of the earth, having as his visible sign the rain-bow or winged beings, such as birds or insects." Our author would identify the statues at Mahenjodaro with men of the Anatolian race. The Anatolians, according to Mr. Foster, had circumnavigated the Deccan and established themselves in Chota Nagpur where, we are told, they made the acquaintance of the 'Dravidians', to whom 'may be ascribed the application of irrigation to the cultivation of rice in the valley of the Ganges'. The Dravidians, we are further told, preceded the Anatolians to Indonesia, New Guinea and Melanesia where they are said to have spread the Austronesian speech. "Anatolian prospectors passing through the Malacca Strait discovered in New Guinea conditions highly favourable to their commercial purpose and in the Dravidians a population whose language they already understood and whose abilities they had previously explored in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges." We wonder whether when the author speaks thus of the 'Dravidians' he is referring not to the Dravidian-speaking peoples but to the (Austro) Munda-speaking tribes. We shall not pursue the Anatolian navigators of our author further afield. While admiring the learning, industry, patience and zeal of our author, we confess we

find it sometimes difficult to appreciate the connections sought to be established between all the various peoples and cultures. We are afraid Mr. Foster has in the later chapters of the book carried the diffusionist theory much too far. The get-up of the book is excellent, but the student misses maps and illustrations as also references to authorities.

A Preface to Morals.—By *Walter Lippmann*. (Macmillan, & Co., New York. 1929) PP. VIII+348. Price \$ 2.50.

In this book the author seeks to find the causes of the dissatisfaction which many thinking people feel with old faiths and codes and to open a door of escape from the prostration of the inner life and the chaos of modernity, now that men are no longer able to believe in the religions of their fathers by reconstructing a reliable basis for their ideals.

The author's solution and remedy is to accept a 'Religion of spirit', the nature of which may be seen from the following extracts from his pages :—

"The present crises in the religious loyalties of mankind", says Mr. Lippmann, "cannot be resolved by weariness or good nature, or by the invention of little intellectual devices for straightening out the dilemmas of biology and Genesis, history and the Gospels with which so many churchmen busy themselves. Beneath these conflicts there is a real dilemma which modern men cannot possibly evade. 'Where is the way where light dwelleth?' They are compelled to choose con-

ciously, clearly, with full realization of what the choice implies, between religion as a system of cosmic government and religion as insight into a cleansed and matured personality, between God conceived as the master of that fate, creator, providence, and being, and God conceived as the highest good at which they aim at. For God is the supreme symbol in which man expresses his destiny, and when that symbol is confused, his life is confused. The result is a frustration of the inner life which will persist so long as the leaders of thought speak of God in more senses than one, and thus render all faith invalid, insincere, and faltering. The choice is at last a personal one. The decision is rendered not by argument but by feeling". For those who are "unable to find principle or order in the authority of a will outside themselves, there is no place they can find it except in an ideal of the human personality. The ideal is an old one, but its confirmation and its practical pertinence are new. The world is able at last to take seriously what its greatest teachers have said. And since all things need a name, if they are to be talked about, devotion to this ideal may properly be called by the name which these greatest teachers gave it; it may be called the religion of the spirit. At the heart of it is the knowledge that the goal of human effort is to be able to follow (in the words of Confucius) what the heart desires without transgressing what is right. The religion of the spirit does not depend upon creeds and cosmologies; it has no vested interests in any particular truth. It is concerned not with the organization of matter, but with the quality of human desire. There is no itch in the religion of the spirit to make men good by bearing down upon them with righteousness and making them conform to a pattern. Its social principle is to live and let live. It has the only tolerable code of manners for a society in which men and women have become freely-moving individuals, no longer held in the grooves of custom by their ancestral ways. It is the only disposition of the soul which meets the moral difficulties of an anarchical age, for its principle is to civilize the passions, not by regulating them imperiously, but by transcending them with a mature understanding of their place in an adult environment. In the realm of the spirit, blessedness is not deferred;

there is no future which is more auspicious than the present; there are no compensations later for evils now. Evil is to be overcome now and happiness is to be achieved now, for the Kingdom of God is within you. The life of the spirit is not a commercial transaction in which the profit has to be anticipated; it is a kind of experience which is inherently profitable. And so the mature man would take the world as it comes, and within himself remain quite unperturbed....He would face pain with fortitude, for he would have put it away from the inner chambers of his soul. Fear would not haunt him, for he would be without compulsion to seize any thing without anxiety as to its fate. He would be strong, not with the strength of hard resolves, but because he was free of that tension which vain expectations bring.....Since nothing gnawed at his vitals, neither doubt nor ambition, nor frustration, nor fear, he would move easily through life. And so whether he saw the thing as comedy or high tragedy, or plain farce, he would affirm that it is what it is, that the wise man can enjoy it."

Although many may not be inclined to accept the author's solution as the last word on the subject, nobody will question the faithfulness of his picture of the mental perplexity and moral confusion of a large proportion of the civilized Westerners of the present day and the need for all men for the development of human personality as a valid ideal. Mr. Lippmann writes with conviction and his style is impressive and the content thought-provoking.

The Story of Human Progress. An Introduction to Social Studies.— *By Leon C. Marshall.* (Macmillan. & Co., New York. 1928). PP. XVI+548. Price

This is a most useful introduction to the study

of the social sciences. After an Introductory Part of 72 pages on Man in early groups or societies in which man's increasing control environment is concisely but lucidly discussed, the author proceeds in Part II to an account (covering another 138 pages) of the multiplication of Man's powers under the heading 'Man, the Harnesser of Nature'. In Part III, headed 'Man, the Communicator' we have a clear account of how man multiplies his powers through the command of distances, good roads, waterways, railways, automobile, aeroplane, telegraph, telephone and wireless, spoken, written and printed language and through the conquest and through trade and commerce. Reference is also made to the functions of the family as the great transmitter of language, attitudes, opinions, customs, practical arts, and ideals, and to the co-operation of the schools and religions and Churches, newspapers, books and libraries in "passing on the torch". In part IV headed "Man, the team-worker and Co-operator", there is an account of man's social organization in which the author discusses how man multiplies his powers by co-operation with others and surveys the work of human social institutions such as law, government, the market, competition and private property. In Part V, headed 'Man, the idealist and Aspirer', we have a discussion of the vital importance of ideals and aspirations, and a survey of the developing ideals. The discussion in each of the five parts of the book culminates in a consideration of the "factors involved in living together well". The book is admirably well-written both from the scientific and

the pedagogical point of view. We strongly recommend the use of the book both in the class-room and in the school-library.

What Darwin Really Said.—*With an Introduction by Julian Huxley. (Routledge's Introductions to Modern Knowledge Series, 1929). PP. 80. Price 6 d. net.*

In this excellent little book, connected extracts from Darwin's great work on the "Origin of Species" have been judiciously put together with a view to give the public a clear grasp of Darwin's essential views on the question how the numerous species of living things,—plant and animal—that are or have been on the Earth, came to exist. Prof. Huxley gives in the introduction an estimate of Darwin's views on *Variation*, *Struggle for Existence*, and *Natural Selection* in the light of recent advances, and shows that ideas introduced by Darwin still remain and will remain as part of the keystone of the problem.

From Monkey to Man.—*By L. H. Dudley Buxton, M. A., F. S. A. (Routledge's Introductions to Modern Knowledge Series, 1929), PP. 79. Price 6 d. net.*

This little book gives a brief and clear scientific account in simple language of the development of man from the earliest traceable beginnings when

some primitive ape-like creature came down from the trees, who might probably be among man's earliest kin, living and extinct, and of man's remarkable rise to pre-eminence among them. The book will form a very useful introduction to the study of the Evolution of man.

The Savage as He Really is.—By J. H. Driberg. (*Routledge's Introductions to Modern Knowledge Series, 1929*) PP. 78. Price 6d. net.

This is the third number of the excellent *Introductions to Modern Knowledge Series* issued by Messrs. George Routledge & Sons.

In this well-written little book the author, with a first hand knowledge of savage tribes, vividly portrays the savage mind as it really is, and successfully combats the tendency among arm-chair anthropologists, obsessed with the theory of a group-mind, of denying rational, logical thought to the savage. Our author rightly contends that the savage is not prelogical but thinks as civilized men do. What differentiates the savage from civilized peoples is exactly that which differentiates different civilised communities from one another, namely, differences in the categories or assumptions on which belief is based. It is the differences in the sum total of experiences of savages from that of the civilized peoples that accounts for their differences in culture and it is the sum total of experience which crystallised into categories, each of which is sorted out into a variety of beliefs.

The savage's environment and experience is different from that of his civilized fellow-man, and therefore the two start from different categories, but there is nothing wrong with the logic of the savage. His processes of thought are the same as ours. The possibility of the progressive development of a primitive people depends therefore entirely on a change in its environment and on nothing else. Thus the difference between the savage and the civilized man is one of degree and not of kind. Every practical ethnologist fully knows that it is only by a true appreciation of primitive ideas, primitive institutions and customs that administrative or trade or other relations with primitive man can be successfully carried on, and any friction with them avoided. It is high time that those concerned in governing countries inhabited by primitive tribes should fully realise this. This valuable little book should be in the hands of every educated man who may have anything to do with primitive tribes.

Malay Poisons and Charm Cures.—By John D. Gimlette. *Third Edition*. 1929. J. & A Churchill. PP. XIV+301. Price 10 S. 6 d. net.

This is a highly interesting and valuable book directly for the ethnologist and indirectly for the student of medicine. It is greatly to be wished that other competent medical men who are in intimate touch with backward peoples might prepare

similar scientific accounts of medicine, as practised by the "medicine man", as has been done by Dr. Gimlette with regard to the art of the "medicine-man" of the Federated Malay States. For the anthropologist the first five chapters dealing with methods of Malay poisoning, on Charms and Amulets, theories as to the origin of disease taboo, Black Art, and sooth-saying will prove to be of absorbing interest.

1. ORAON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

Price.—Twelve Rupees.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BOOK.

Col. T. C. Hodson, M. A., *Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge* :— "A book like this—sane, clear, scientific, sympathetic, comprehensive—is of prime importance to the student of Anthropology, to the student of Religion and to the Administrator who seeks or should seek to understand the forces which govern human activities, and it is full of charm and interest for the general reader who desires to know something at once accurate and intelligible of the Peoples of India".

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., *Rector of Exeter College Oxford* :— "In my opinion the latest work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, namely, *Oraon Religion and Customs* (Ranohi, 1928), fully maintains the high standard of accurate observation and critical interpretation already reached by him in his well-known researches for which European scholars are exceedingly grateful ; for it is obvious that, so long as he accepts the same canons of inductive enquiry, the Indian investigator has a better chance of probing and penetrating to the truth in regard to all things Indian and especially in regard to the psychological facts."

Sir Arthur Keith, M. A., M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., :— "I am very conscious of the great work you have done and are doing. There is no school or college of Anthropology but will make a special place for this your latest work both on its library shelves and in its heart. I doubt if any one has ever done so much for the Anthropology of a people as you have done for the Oraon. I endorse all my friend Col. Hodson has written in his preface and in particular would I underline your disinterested and persistent labour for the advance of Science".

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, A. M., Ph. D., *Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.*, :—

I was delighted to get your recent book on *Oraon Religion* and have reviewed it for the *American Anthropologist*. The

book carries on the high standard which you have set in your previous works, and presents the material in very effective form. I congratulate you on it most cordially.

The Times (London, February 28, 1929):— A very detailed account of the religion and magic of the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, a people of Dravidian speech. It is based on twelve years' investigation by a highly competent ethnologist, who has already published a work on this people. It can be seen what a rich field there is in India among the more primitive peoples, which, indeed, can best be tilled by trained Indian ethnologists. There is a long chapter also on movements during the last hundred years and more among the Oraons towards a higher, simpler religion, which will interest students of religious psychology.

The Nature (London, March 9, 1929):— Ethnologists are indebted to Sarat Chandra Roy for his valuable book "*The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915), and now he has provided a study of *Oraon Religion and Customs* which should be read by all those who are interested in primitive religions. The especial value of this book is not merely in the detailed accounts of socio-religious and religious rites and ceremonies and magical practices, but in the very suggestive religious transformations that have occurred since the Oraons arrived, and the process is still continuing.

The Discovery. (London, February 1929):— When the history of ethnological study in India comes to be written, the name of the author of this work is least likely to be overlooked. By his own work and by his encouragement of others as editor of the periodical *Man in India*, he has deserved well of his colleagues in anthropology. Sarat Chandra Roy has published here the promised continuation of his studies of the *Oraon* of which the first instalment appeared as long ago as 1915. The author is here concerned only with their religious and magical beliefs, both directly in themselves and in their relation to the *Oraon* social institutions, such as are involved in birth, marriage and death. Of particular interest to students of folklore and primitive religion are the sections dealing with agricultural ceremonies and the belief in witchcraft which afford much useful material for both comparison and contrast with European folklore.

A final chapter deals with revival movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion which is highly suggestive and deserves the careful attention of all who are in any way interested in or connected with the problems of administration among peoples of non-European culture.

The Statesman (Calcutta, March 17, 1929):— The Rai Bahadur is wellknown for his excellent monographs on the *Mundas* and the *Oraons*, and is everywhere recognized as an anthropologist of rare insight. India, with its great variety of races, nationalities, creeds, customs, and cultures affords an excellent field for the anthropologist and sociologist. This new book will be studied with delight by scientists in many countries. The author has made a capital use of his opportunities of studying the several tribes of aborigines in Chota-Nagpur and Central India.

The Forward (Calcutta, February 19, 1929):— The learned author is a pioneer in the field of anthropology and needs no introduction. His previous works—*The Birhor*, *The Mundas* and the *Oraons* are classics and had already established a world-wide reputation for him. The present volume is a befitting successor to his previous works. It is the outcome of the author's deep and laborious investigations into the religion and customs of the *Oraons*, a much-neglected tribe of Chota-Nagpur, carried on for a long period of about twelve years and as such an invaluable treasure to students of anthropology and students of religion.

The get-up of the book is excellent. In short, the book leaves nothing to be desired.

The Servant of India (Poona, May 30, 1929):— The book is worthy of the author, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy of Ranchi, who is a well-known student of anthropology relating to the aboriginal tribes of Chota-Nagpur and the Central Indian Plateau.

The chapter on socio-religious rites and ceremonies is very interesting and demands careful study. The last chapter on the *Oraon Religion* with its revival movements is exceedingly instructive.

We strongly recommend the book to students of anthropology as well as to the general reader.

The Modern Review (Calcutta, January, 1929):— Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks

of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota-Nagpur. The present volume on the *Oraon Religion and Customs* is the sequel to his earlier work on "*the Oraons of Chota-Nagpur*" (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religions and social institutions of this interesting tribe, the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved.

The book is well-printed and illustrated and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

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